

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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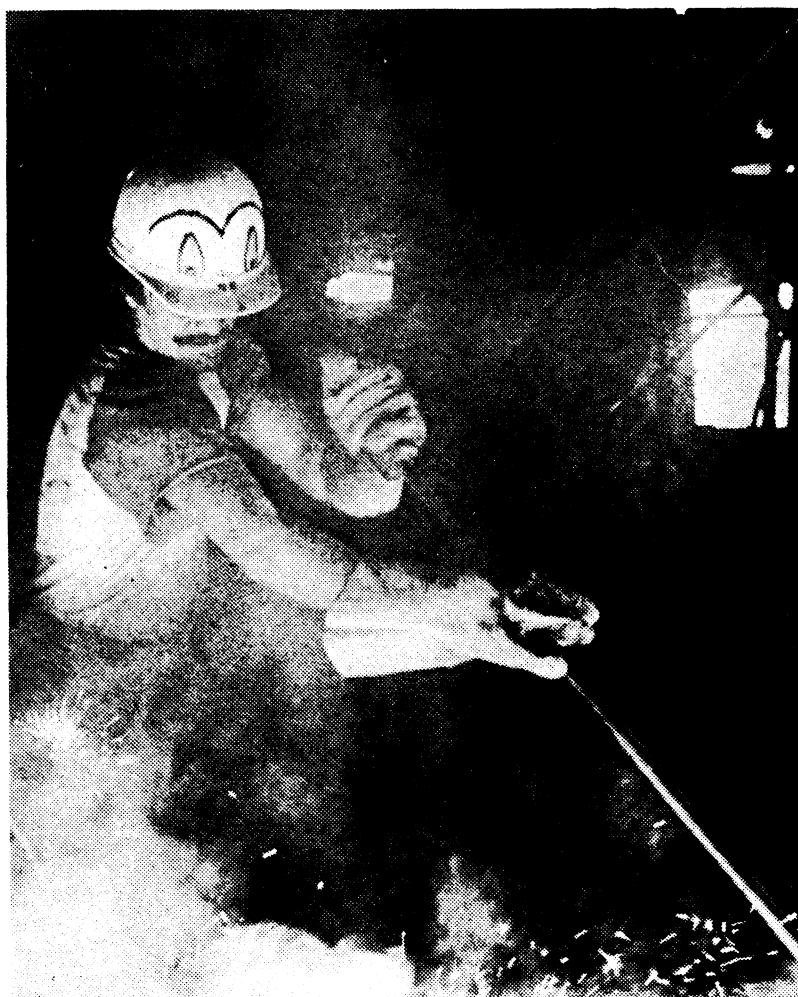
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pushing for
segregationist
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"...and leave the driving to us."

STEELWORKERS



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CHRISTOPHER STREET. . . : This month supporters of gay rights will commemorate the first large gay liberation actions in 1969. In June of that year gays defended themselves against a police raid at the Stonewall Inn, a bar on Christopher Street in New York's Greenwich Village.

This year in New York a meeting of 200 gay activists voted to call a June 27 Gay Pride March and Rally dedicated to the repeal of all sodomy laws and passage of gay rights legislation. Participants will gather on Christopher Street west of Sheridan Square at noon and march up Sixth Avenue to a rally in Central Park.

A June 19 Gay Pride Parade to the statehouse is planned in Boston. Organizers are taking special precautions because of the violent right-wing atmosphere generated by the city's racist antibusing movement. To help discourage disruption from local bigots, the New England Gay Pride Committee is organizing marshals and a "podium committee" composed of state senators, ministers, and well-known civil libertarians to be on hand.

Attempts by the committee to reserve city council chambers for a June 22 gay rights rally have been thwarted. Rules stipulate that a city council member must sponsor and be present for any community gathering in the chambers. While council members repeatedly sponsored meetings for antibusing groups, all say they are "not available" for the gay liberation rally. However, the committee has secured the city hall art gallery for a June 21 forum on "The Fight for Gay Rights in Boston."

. . . 'CHRISTOPHER STREET SOUTH': In Atlanta, a week of workshops will culminate in a June 26 demonstration, "Christopher Street South." The march and 3:00 p.m. rally at Piedmont Park will demand support for gay civil rights, repeal of sodomy statutes, and defense of lesbian mothers' child-custody rights.

The Gay Pride Week Planning Committee includes members of the Atlanta Lesbian Feminist Alliance; Dignity; Integrity; Gay Help Line; Socialist Workers party; Metropolitan Community Church; Dykes for the Second American Revolution; Atlanta Women's Union; Young Socialist Alliance; and Atlanta Gay Center.

Other cities that have slated events include Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.

HELP PUT OUT THE 'MILITANT': If you live in or near New York City, you can help produce the *Militant*. Every week, day or evenings, we need volunteers to proofread. You don't need any special skills. We'll train you quickly in the basic techniques of proofreading. If you can help out, especially on Mondays, Tuesdays, or Wednesdays, call Dean Elder at (212) 243-6392.

PALESTINE SOLIDARITY MARCH: This year's big "Salute to Israel" parade in New York was met by 350 counterdemonstrators on June 13. These supporters of Palestinian self-determination were protesting U.S. intervention in the Mideast and publicizing the hypocrisy of the pro-Zionist demonstration.

"The theme of the Zionist parade, 'Proclaim liberty throughout the land,' is a cruelly ironic slogan," a member of the Palestine Solidarity Committee told demonstrators. "What is really being proclaimed throughout the land of Palestine is the determination of colonial settlers to keep the land they stole from others." The speaker also blasted the repression of the Palestinian movement in Lebanon.

The demonstrators marched past the South African Airways office to dramatize the link between the two racist settler-states. At the World Zionist Organization headquarters a speaker for the Jewish contingent in the march said that Zionism betrays the Jewish people because it is allied with such anti-Semitic forces as South African Prime Minister John Vorster, the Chilean junta, and the pro-Nazi Christian Phalange in Lebanon.

COURT MOVES TO JAIL PSP MEMBER: Puerto Rican Socialist party member Lureida Torres has been fighting government attempts to jail her in New York. A federal district judge cited her for contempt of court and ordered her jailed until she agreed to testify before a grand jury that was investigating bombings by a mysterious Puerto Rican terrorist group. Torres had refused to testify on the grounds that the court was trying to gather political intelligence on the PSP.

On June 10 a U.S. appeals court denied Torres's appeal of the citation and ordered her to surrender to federal marshals on June 14. On that day, the appeals court turned down her request for a stay of confinement until the U.S. Supreme Court could hear an appeal on the contempt citation.

The next day Torres complied with the second court order to surrender herself. However, one-half hour later, defense lawyers obtained a temporary stay of confinement from

Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall. The stay would stand, he said, until the prosecution could explain why Torres's imprisonment should not be suspended until the high court heard her appeal.

FREE DZHEMILEV: A meeting in defense of Mustafa Dzhemilev, a Soviet dissident, will be held at New York University on June 24. In April authorities sentenced Dzhemilev to his fourth prison term for his activities supporting the right of his people, the Crimean Tatars, to return to the Crimea. Stalin's regime forced the entire Crimean Tatar population to migrate in 1944, accusing the nationality of fascist collaboration. Today, the Soviet bureaucracy still brutally represses Crimean Tatars who courageously demand the right to return to their homeland.

Featured speakers at the June 24 meeting will be three former political prisoners: Reza Baraheni, Iranian poet imprisoned by the shah; Pavel Litvinov, incarcerated by the Soviet regime for his opposition to the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia; and Martin Sostre, a Black Puerto Rican who spent seven years in New York prisons on phony drug charges.

The meeting will begin at the NYU Catholic Center at 7:00 p.m. For more information call the Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee at (212) 533-9238.

STANTON STORY: The Stanton Story Defense Committee in Pittsburgh has announced that attorney Jerry Paul will be the featured speaker at a June 25 rally in support of Stanton Story's appeal for a new trial. The twenty-three-year-old Black man was recently sentenced to death for the slaying of a local patrolman. Story has testified that he was in North Carolina at the time of the murder. Jerry Paul, who successfully defended Joanne Little, will be assisting attorney Paul Gettleman in preparing an appeal to the state supreme court. The rally will begin at 7:00 p.m. on Friday, June 25, at Bethesda Presbyterian Church.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK: Local backers of Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons voted him a \$31,000 salary increase at the union's recent convention. A hike in union dues will provide the union bureaucrat with an annual "wage" of \$156,250.

Speaking to delegates, Fitzsimmons took the offensive against dissident members: "To those who say it is time to reform this organization and it's time the officers stopped selling out the members . . . I say to them, 'Go to hell.'"

No sense in beating around the bush.

—Ginny Hildebrand



'Militant' labor reporter Andy Rose has just returned from ten-day fact-finding trip to Ontario and Québec, Canada.

Special Offer For New Readers

Working people in Canada and the United States face similar assaults on their standard of living. But labor's response has been different in Canada. The labor federation is discussing a one-day general strike, and working people have a labor party. Reports on this labor upsurge begin in next week's *Militant*. Subscribe now.

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Setback for Boston racists

Supreme Court bars antibusing appeal

By Baxter Smith

Civil rights supporters across the country have found heart in the June 14 Supreme Court decision not to entertain arguments against the Boston desegregation order.

The court decision laid to rest four separate appeals of the Phase Two aspect of the two-year-old court order. They had been filed by Boston Mayor Kevin White, the Boston School Committee, the Boston Home and School Association, and the Boston Teachers Union.

The decision marked a setback to the Ford administration moves to knock down busing for desegregation purposes.

The high court action means that Federal District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity's May 1975 Phase Two order will remain in effect.

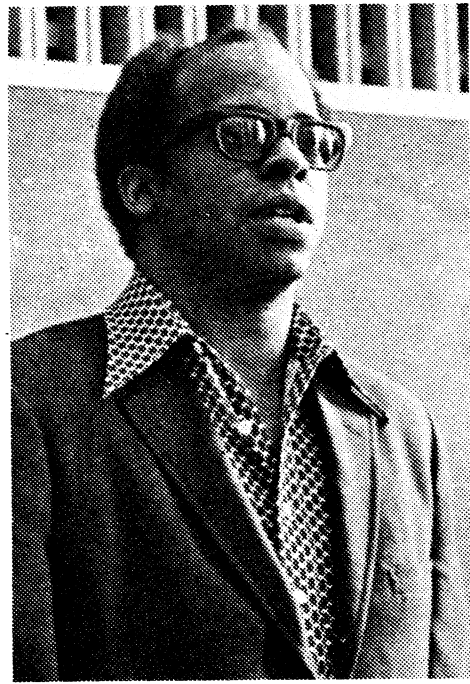
Challenges to Garrity's Phase One order were denied review by the Supreme Court a year ago.

Several weeks ago Attorney General Edward Levi declared that the Ford administration was weighing intervening against desegregation in Boston by supporting the Home and School Association's appeal.

Public outcry prompted the administration to decide against intervening on behalf of the Home and School Association appeal. The antibusing group contended that Garrity should have restricted his order to schools that could be proven to have been deliberately segregated by the school committee and should have avoided taking any action to desegregate others. It charged that neighborhood housing patterns had prompted school segregation, and reasoned that schools in such neighborhoods should be left alone.

In his original ruling, however, Garrity found that school officials over the years had bused students out of schools in their neighborhoods to enforce segregation, or had allowed schools in white neighborhoods to become overcrowded to avoid sending white students to Black schools.

"The Supreme Court confirmed what we already knew, that none of the appeals of Judge Garrity's decision had any merit," said Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP. His group was responsible for filing the



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

ATKINS: 'Supreme Court confirmed what we already knew.'

desegregation suit in 1972 on behalf of Black parents.

U.S. Sen. Edward Brooke from Massachusetts saluted the high court action:

"We will have to go along with the law as it is. I call upon the Boston School Committee to carry out the mandate of the court order."

Another NAACP official, Ed Redd, executive director of the Boston branch, applauded the decision as "wise" and as going "far in restoring calm and peace to a city unfortunately torn by misleading and expedient political propaganda."

Reaction to the court decision by busing opponents ranged from dejection to acrimony to appeals for anti-Black violence.

Mayor White was described as "disappointed" by the court action.

South Boston Democratic State Rep. Raymond Flynn said: "This decision will not be well received by the parents in the city of Boston who have had to live with the nightmare of forced busing."

School committee member Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, who remarked after viewing the beating of a Haitian by whites two years ago, "It made me feel

good," said:

"This just proves that the members of the nation's highest court are a pack of flaming liberals who are out of touch with reality, the times, and the people."

Palladino said the decision "probably will" touch off racist violence in Boston. "Now people are up against the wall with no place to go."

James Kelly, head of the South Boston Marshals, an extreme anti-Black vigilante grouping, said there would be an increase in "the current reign of terror" in Boston.

"As long as there is forced busing in this city, violence and racial confrontation are unavoidable," Kelly said. He added that civil rights groups had "been successful intimidating the powers in Washington and they are the main reason why there is no longer justice for the white people of this country."

The same day the Supreme Court decided not to hear arguments against Boston desegregation, civil rights leaders met with President Ford and warned that his administration's ac-

tions against busing are encouraging racist violence and defiance of the law.

Sixteen representatives from the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition grouping, told Ford that his movements against busing were "hurting integration and helping segregation."

Ford maintained that federal courts have gone too far in ordering school busing, but could not cite a specific case when pressed to do so.

Among those attending the meeting were NAACP chief Roy Wilkins, Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League, William Pollard of the AFL-CIO, and Yvonne Burke of the Congressional Black Caucus.

The civil rights leaders, according to the *New York Times*, demanded that instead of pursuing his present antibusing course, Ford issue "a national call for obedience to the rule of law and orders of the courts" and that the president "condemn violence as a means of challenging court orders."

Ford, it was reported, informed the group he would continue to seek ways to upset busing.

NSCAR: 'Law on our side'



Militant/Larry Seigle

HATTIE MCCUTCHEON

After hailing the Supreme Court decision, Hattie McCutcheon, a spokesperson for the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), warned that "we must recognize that a movement exists headed by President Ford, Attorney General Levi, and Democratic and Republican party presidential candidates to challenge the law of the land."

The repercussions of the continuing antibusing proposals by President Ford and other elected officials, she said, "will surely increase the expectations of the racists who stand opposed to busing and school desegregation."

"The Supreme Court decision is final," McCutcheon declared, "and NSCAR is putting a test before the antibusing forces to see if they will now uphold the law which has been reaffirmed today by the Supreme Court."

Syrian attacks on Palestinians continue

By Peter Seidman

June 15—An estimated 13,000 Syrian troops (plus 10,000 more Syrian-controlled guerrillas) are continuing their assault on Palestinian and leftist-Muslim positions in Lebanon.

Despite Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's posturing as the vanguard of the Arab nationalist movement and a defender of the Palestinian people, the Syrian invasion of Lebanon has laid bare what a June 3 editorial in the *New York Times* labeled the "convergence of interests [that] has appeared between Syria, the United States and Israel."

Assad's murderous attacks on the more than 300,000 Palestinians in Lebanon and their leftist allies represent a sharp turnabout from his earlier role in the long civil war that has wracked that country.

At the onset of the civil war, Syria was a supplier of arms and a supporter of the Palestinian-Muslim leftist bloc that was struggling against a rightist alliance that sought to maintain a legacy of Christian minority rule imposed on Lebanon during the French colonial mandate.

The growing power of the leftist

drive, however, apparently gave Assad cause to reconsider his stance. The Syrian president began to view the emergence of a militant, pro-Palestinian Lebanese neighbor as a threat to his own regime.

Assad, like the leaders of other Arab countries, is more afraid of the Arab masses than of Israel and its imperialist backers.

Assad's attacks on the Palestinians in Lebanon, according to a June 9 dispatch by *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman, have led Israeli diplomats to take "a relaxed view of the situation." Despite the presence of Syrian troops within fourteen miles of the Israeli border, Gwertzman reports, "The Israelis do not view the Syrian involvement . . . as a threat and they wonder whether, as a result of this crisis, Syria may reverse its previous opposition to dealing directly with Israel, and may in fact also weaken in its support for the Palestinians."

Of course, Syrian support for the Palestinians has already "weakened." That has been made clear by Assad's indiscriminate terror attacks on Palestinian refugee camps.

New York Times correspondent James Markham, for example, reported in a June 8 dispatch that "a huge cloud of black smoke rose from the Palestinian camp of Bouri Bragne [in Beirut], which has been shelled by pro-Syrian forces." Sabra and Shatila, two other refugee camps on Beirut's southern outskirts, were also shelled.

In the past it has been the Israeli regime that has mounted terror attacks on precisely these Palestinian camps.

It is these and other Syrian military moves against the Palestinians that set the stage for a precarious cease-fire pact that was announced June 12 after a meeting of the Arab League in Cairo. The meeting, which took place June 8, decided to send a "peace-keeping" force into Lebanon.

Such a force, which has not yet arrived in Lebanon, could expand the opportunity for various Arab regimes to maneuver for whatever advantage they can out of the changing situation in Lebanon.

At the same time, the projected six-nation force is not viewed by Assad as a serious threat to his goal of eliminating the Palestinians as an obstacle to his goal of achieving a Syrian-dictated

settlement in Lebanon. It can be expected that Assad will continue his assaults on the Palestinians a step at a time, cautiously testing the reaction to each escalation.

Libyan and Algerian participation in the proposed peace-keeping force is aimed at bolstering the image of these nations as protectors of the Palestinians. In reality, however, the participation of such allegedly "radical" regimes only gives Assad cover for his attack on the Palestinians.

This is a plus for Assad, whose invasion has prompted growing popular opposition at home.

Both Iraq, by moving its troops to its border with Syria, and Egypt, through its June 6 announcement that it will allow the Voice of Palestine radio to resume transmitting, are seeking to refurbish their images as defenders of the Palestinians also.

Egypt had closed down Voice of Palestine following its rupture of relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization when that group criticized the Egyptian-Israeli accord over the Sinai made in September 1975.

These maneuvers by Syria and the

Continued on page 26

Interview with Peter Camejo

'People in Spain want socialism'

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

"The ruling class in Spain is under enormous pressure to try to clean up the image of the fascist dictatorship," Peter Camejo said in an interview on his return from a nine-day tour of Spain.

Camejo is the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party. In late May he spoke at meetings attended by a total of about 4,000 persons in Barcelona, Madrid, and Valencia on "The Political Situation in the United States and Its Impact on World Politics." In addition, he met informally with several leaders of the mass movement.

Camejo gave his impression of the political situation in Spain: "The pressure is coming from the mass workers movement and from the middle classes. It is combined with international pressures from the working class of Europe and general hostility to the fascist regime."

"What the ruling class is attempting to do is give the appearance of establishing some democratic rights in order to be able to say that they are moving away from fascism."

But, he continued, "their problem is an enormous repressive apparatus that has been built up over the years by the fascists. This apparatus is very powerful. And, of course, the fascists fear that any opening toward bourgeois democracy could mean their end. Therefore, the fascists oppose such an opening and put pressure on the bourgeoisie to guarantee the continuation of the apparatus. To justify their existence, the fascists need to perpetuate the myth that they are struggling against the 'danger' of Communism."

Parties 'legalized'

What the government is saying is that only certain groups should be granted legal status—some Social Democratic currents—and that groups like the Communist party, which is the largest party in the working-class movement today, as well as the Trotskyists and Maoists, should remain banned. This way, he pointed out, it can maintain the basic principle of victimizing individuals for their political views.

However, such an approach poses a

contradiction. "The ruling class can't begin to allow some democratic rights, which people will utilize to fight to better their conditions, and then necessarily contain that motion."

The objective situation clearly favors the workers, Camejo said. "They feel they'll be able to beat back the government. That's why there is such great tension right now throughout Spain. Everyone is waiting to see what these so-called new laws will actually mean in reality. There's a continual testing going on of what can be printed, what can be said, what meetings can be held."

The "reform" proposal of the Juan Carlos regime, Camejo said, is "quite reactionary when compared to any of the bourgeois regimes of Europe. In fact, it becomes almost ludicrous."

To make his point, Camejo described the proposal for a "reformed" parliament. It calls for a two-house legislature, with the upper house appointed by the Francoist regime and the lower house elected only by heads of households. Moreover, there would still be a monarchy, and the parliament would have no powers except to advise the king.

Another proposal of the "reform" plan is a law on public meetings.

"This is a new law which is supposed to guarantee the right to hold meetings," Camejo said. "It is a law which says that any gathering of twenty people, except for weddings or specific church events, must have a police permit and police must be present."

I asked Camejo how the masses view these maneuvers and promises.

"There is clear mass sympathy for democratic rights and civil liberties," he replied. "The masses want freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom for all political organizations. They want amnesty for all political prisoners. That's why there is tremendous unity between the working class and the middle class—the peasantry and so forth."

However, he cautioned, "there is political confusion on the role the bourgeoisie plays in this. There is a tendency among some political groups, especially the Communist party, to see the bourgeoisie as reliable allies in the

fight for democratic rights against the fascists."

"You met with Marcelino Camacho, whose views generally parallel those of the Spanish Communist party," I said. "How did he explain this?"

Marcelino Camacho

Camacho is the central leader of the workers commissions that were first formed about fifteen years ago in Spain.

"He believes in the desirability of creating a political bloc between the workers and sectors of the capitalist class. His point of view is probably the majority opinion right now on the left in Spain, although there are big doubts about it among some sectors."

"Camacho's view is that the bour-

"More importantly, he pointed out that the arrest of political opponents of the government continues," Camejo said. "In fact, in the last year there has been a 35 percent increase in the number of political trials. There is a continuing process of arresting people and throwing them in jail for a month or two to intimidate them. So, the number of political prisoners is hard to judge. It may go up to 1,000 or 2,000—maybe even higher—for a period, especially around strikes or when there is a demonstration."

Workers movement

Camejo also referred to meetings he had with working-class leaders from other political tendencies. One of the big debates going on in the workers



Militant/Joanna Rossi

Camejo (right) met with Spanish workers leader Marcelino Camacho to discuss plight of political prisoners and what can be done to win their freedom.

geoisie has more or less separated from the fascist apparatus—or at least large sectors of it have—and that it is generally fighting for democratic rights. What is needed, therefore, is to make a political bloc with the bourgeoisie on a bourgeois program to get them to use their great influence to force the fascists to give democratic rights.

"Camacho seems to place a great deal of hope in these big bourgeois figures. He kept repeating to me that the government is extremely nervous over the fact that the big bourgeoisie are willing to meet with him."

"What I think this reveals is the weakness of the bourgeoisie in Spain, that they are forced now to deal with people they have suppressed for more than thirty years. They now have to meet with members of the Communist party and others—even though these meetings are illegal, formally speaking—in order to try to use the workers parties to control the working class. They have no other vehicle to control them. The fascist unions have lost credibility in the eyes of the working class."

Political prisoners

The main thing he discussed with Camacho, Camejo said, was the question of political prisoners. Camacho had been released from jail only two days earlier. In all, he has spent fourteen years in prison.

Camacho reported that the situation in the prisons has gotten worse since Franco died last November. There are approximately 140 prisoners left in the jail where Camacho was imprisoned, including some workers who have been there for twenty-five years for trying to set up unions. And he estimated that there are at least 700 political prisoners throughout Spain.

Camacho himself faces a new trial on charges that he has advocated changing the government. This charge carries a minimum penalty of twenty years.

movement, he said, is the question of how the movement should be organized. Should there be one union federation encompassing the existing illegal workers organizations dominated by the Communists, Social Democrats, and anarchists? Or should there be three separate trade-union federations? The big fear of the Social Democrats, anarchists, and others is that the CP would not allow the right of tendency within a unitary federation.

"The UGT [Unión General de Trabajadores—General Workers Union, the Social Democratic union] leaders are fearful that the CP would try to do what the Stalinists did in Portugal. The Communist party there took over what remained of the fascist formations and used them bureaucratically to try to control the working class, to make it harder to achieve democracy in the workers movement," Camejo said.

The Social Democrats and anarchists have a longer tradition in the workers movement than the Stalinists, Camejo pointed out, dating from before the civil war. However, the CP-dominated workers commissions now have more influence in the working class, since they led the major struggles that have taken place in the last fifteen years.

While he was in Barcelona, Camejo talked with Luis Xirinacs, a radical priest who is holding a vigil for the amnesty of political prisoners. He described Xirinacs's campaign:

"Xirinacs is very directly and consciously imitating the type of actions that Martin Luther King was associated with in the South [of the United States]. He's sitting out in front of the jail in Barcelona seven days a week, twelve hours a day. Other people sit with him. This is illegal. He has been beaten up many times; he has been thrown in jail."

"The government tried to stop him forcibly but they found that every time they tried to repress him, they would

300 in New York hear Camejo report on Spain



Militant/Lou Howort

Three hundred New Yorkers turned out Wednesday evening, June 9, to hear Peter Camejo report on his nine-day speaking tour of Spain last month. The meeting, sponsored by the New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, was held at New York University Catholic Center in Manhattan.

get bad publicity throughout Europe. It was even reported in the *New York Times* and other papers in the United States. This publicity put a stop to their beating him up. Now they seem to have given up. They're just watching him.

"But more important, he had projected the idea of a pacifist march across Catalonia. They were going to start in three different places and march throughout the entire area demanding amnesty and autonomy for Catalonia. This would be a peaceful march.

"The day I met with him the newspapers had on the front page that this march had been prohibited by the government. The government explained that the reason they were banning it was that they thought it could get in the way of commerce!

"But in general the government doesn't like the idea of people gathering in big crowds. And they thought that this march somehow could turn into a big crowd."

Camejo's meetings

I asked Camejo about his public meetings. "What were the audiences like politically, and what questions aroused the most discussion?"

"Probably most of the people who attended were politicalized," he replied, "although at some meetings we had at the universities or in workers districts they could very easily have just been ordinary people.

"People want socialism in Spain—there's no doubt about that. If there were a referendum tomorrow about what social system they wanted, the overwhelming majority would vote for socialism. So the question then becomes, what type of socialism and how to get it.

"When I explained that the main danger I saw was workers subordinating their own interests for the sake of a bloc with sections of the bourgeoisie or supporting any bourgeois government, there was overwhelming support to this position.

"There were many members of the Communist party present at these meetings. I would notice that they would applaud for these positions. Also, when I would make it clear that I oppose the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, that I favor democratic rights for workers in the Soviet Union, this would bring applause."

Camejo feels that people are joining the Communist party "because most workers see it as the largest party on the left, a party with many members who have fought very hard and who are respected. They hope that by joining this large party they will get socialism."

This explains why the rank and file of the Communist party is so open to listening to other political groups, he said.

"After making the point about the Soviet Union, I would always explain that the Socialist Workers party was in solidarity with the Fourth International. This would also bring a lot of applause. This was due in part, of course, to the fact that there were supporters of the Fourth International in the audience. But that was far from the total explanation. The applause was very generalized. At my Madrid meeting of 1,500, students began shouting, 'Fourth, Fourth International,' at the end of my talk. Those shouting very clearly included most of the audience."

He noted that the two sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International in Spain—the Liga Comunista (Communist League) and the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria/Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna VI—Revolutionary Communist League/Basque Nation and Freedom VI—are growing.

"There is little doubt that if legality were established for the Trotskyists in Spain, they would become the largest Trotskyist organizations in the world," Camejo said.

Moreover, he concluded, "it's far from settled which tendency will predominate among the workers."

Where did all the voters go?

'76 primaries are over at last

By Steve Clark

As always, they began in New Hampshire. And this year—three months and twenty-nine states later—they ended in Ohio, California, and New Jersey.

The 1976 Democratic and Republican primaries are over.

Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter seems confident of an easy victory at the Democrats' New York convention. His major contenders—from Morris Udall to George Wallace—are loyally falling into line behind him, despite their supposed deep differences over issues.

Commentators are filling the airwaves and newspapers with analyses of Carter's sweep and the still unsettled Ford-Reagan bout. The real news, however, is not how many people voted for whom, but how many people didn't even bother to vote at all.

On the average, less than a third of voting-age Americans showed up at the polls this spring.

"Why?" asked correspondent Godfrey Sperling in the June 8 *Christian Science Monitor*. "Because so many Americans today have become convinced that no matter who gets into office—there will be no answers; they will get no relief from their problems."

Sperling quotes a Black factory worker from Detroit. "No, I'm not going to vote [in the Michigan primary]. What's the use? They all make a lot of promises—but they don't do anything."

Apparently, nearly 100 million potential voters agreed.

Mandate from the people?

This turnout belies the boasts of the Democratic and Republican front-runners that they have piled up a broad popular mandate for their policies this spring.

In Texas, for example, Reagan garnered a "landslide" two-thirds of the Republican primary votes—in other words, roughly 2-3 percent of voting-age Texans.

In Carter's home state of Georgia, the former governor won a "whopping" 84 percent of the primary ballots—roughly 12 percent of eligible Georgia voters.

And Ford took Ohio with only 6-7 percent of the voting-age population.

During the past decade and a half, voter participation in the November presidential elections has dropped every four years—from 64 percent in 1960 to 55.7 percent last time around.

That year, Richard Nixon became president with the votes of only 25 percent of voting-age Americans. That too was billed a "landslide."

Growing distrust

The American people are clearly disenchanted with Washington and with the policies of the two big-business parties. In 1964, according to a survey by the University of Michigan Center for Political Studies, 76 percent of the American people trusted Washington "to do what is right" all or most of the time.

That figure plummeted to 36 percent during the next decade. What happened in the interim?

Vietnam. Watergate, and revelations of massive government spying, corruption, and criminality. A meat shortage, energy crisis, and mounting social service cutbacks. Unrelenting inflation and high unemployment.

A Harris poll this year showed that confidence in Congress fell from 42 percent to 9 percent during the last decade, and that confidence in the White House dropped from 41 percent to 11 percent.

These trends are accentuated among young voters.

Other studies have noted that such

disenchantment also runs particularly high among Blacks, trade unionists, and the poor.

Perhaps a *Newsweek* survey summed it up best. The magazine asked people how they would vote if a category labeled "no confidence" appeared on their ballots. Fifty-two percent answered that they were likely or fairly likely to make that choice.

Plastic candidates

Recognizing this mood in the population, candidates in both parties this spring tried to take their distance from Washington. "I'm a different kind of politician—a trustworthy politician," was their common refrain. By and large, issues got short shrift.

But issues were discussed, and the majority of what was said marked a rightward shift in capitalist politics. Many pundits attributed this to a general revival of conservative attitudes in the population.

This is simply untrue. Politicians in both parties this spring were responding to the needs of the big industrial and banking fortunes they represent. The capitalists, faced with serious economic problems, want to drive

down wages in this country and cut back social expenditures.

Most people, on the other hand, want better schools, more hospitals, free health care, cleaner air and streets, higher wages, full employment, and more secure pensions.

Yet the ruling rich slash living standards, while jacking up the war budget to its highest level in history—\$115 billion.

It is certainly true that growing numbers of people today reject the "solutions" proposed by Democratic and Republican party liberals. They are tired of being taxed at higher and higher levels while corporate super-profits remain notoriously undertaxed. They are tired of seeing their tax money squandered on war, graft, and interest payments.

But to call this rejection of liberals a rightward shift, or to identify the "taxpayers' revolt" with the merciless budget-cutting programs of the Democrats and Republicans, is a serious error.

The commentators in the capitalist media also disregard the makeup of those sections of the population that participate in American elections. This group is skewed sharply toward the more conservative layers of society.

People with high incomes are more likely to vote than the poor; whites more likely than Blacks; and older people more likely than the young.

The Democrats and Republicans catered to the racist sentiments of a segment of the white population, joining in the outcry against busing and ignoring issues of special concern to Blacks and other minorities.

They did so because the business interests they serve are increasingly unwilling to sacrifice the billions of dollars reaped each year by keeping minorities in the lowest-paid jobs. The current racist offensive against the rights and living standards of minorities paves the way for the assault on the rights and living standards of all working people.

The bellicose foreign policy pronouncements of Reagan, Ford, and many Democrats this spring certainly don't reflect the attitude of the vast majority of the American people.

In fact, the American people's mood was what kept Washington out of a war this year. Ford's attempt to mobilize sentiment behind his policy in Angola was a failure.

Who's got the money?

Many factors play a role in determining which capitalist candidates will represent the Democrats and Republicans in presidential elections, but money is among the most important.

One of the most lavish primary campaigns this time was staged by Jimmy Carter. Carter spent more than \$3 million between January 1 and April 30, according to government records.

Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak provide a glimpse of where the money came from to finance such an effort. Describing one of Carter's fund-raising affairs, they wrote:

"Saying yes were presidents and executive vice presidents of U.S. Steel, Westinghouse, Allegheny Ludlum, Alcoa, National Steel, the Mellon Bank, Jones & Laughlin, Koppers and other corporate giants—about 20 executives in all, only two of whom were Democrats."

This spring's primaries, as always, attempted to create the illusion that the American people have a real choice about who "their" president will be. What was different this year was that fewer people than ever before believed it; not because they were apathetic or

Continued on page 26



JIMMY CARTER



RONALD REAGAN



GERALD FORD

Tunney tops Hayden in Calif. primary

Big business defeats nuclear safety proposition

By Harry Ring

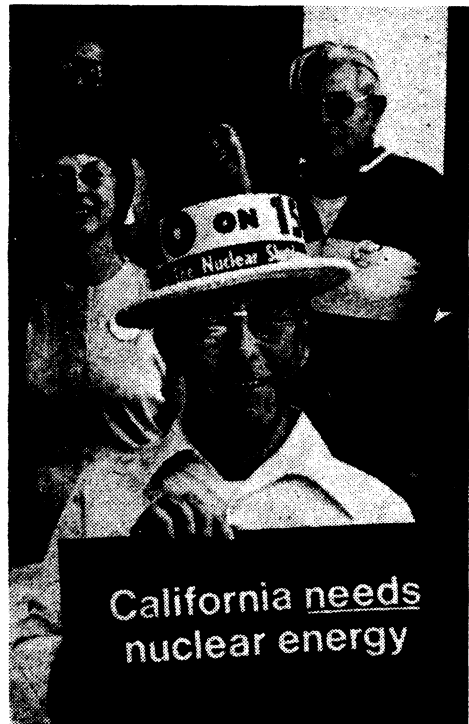
LOS ANGELES—The June 8 voting in California turned out pretty much as generally anticipated.

The biggest setbacks were the defeat of Proposition 15, which would have curbed the proliferation of nuclear energy plants, defeat of a Los Angeles proposition that would have given Blacks and Chicanos greater representation on the city school board, and defeat of a San Francisco proposition for city-funded child-care centers.

One interesting result was the strong showing by Tom Hayden, the former "radical" contestant for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate.

The nuclear safeguard proposition was defeated 67 percent to 33 percent by the powerful forces arrayed against it. Led by major utility corporations across the nation, which poured in the money, the anti-15 coalition included the media, the trade-union bureaucrats, and most of the major-party politicians.

A special role in axing the proposition was played by Gov. Edmund Brown. He piously proclaimed his "neutrality" on the issue. Meanwhile,



Big money was behind 'No on 15' vote

he engineered passage of several bills in the state legislature purporting to "regulate" nuclear power plants, thus making passage of Proposition 15 ostensibly "unnecessary." Brown signed the bills just five days before the election.

A defeat of Proposition C in Los Angeles represented a victory for racism. The Los Angeles school board is currently composed of seven members elected at-large. This system effectively denies Blacks and Chicanos adequate representation on the board.

Proposition C would have enlarged the board to nine, elected from geographical districts. This would have automatically assured representation from Black and Chicano areas.

The issue assumed special importance today, with the present school board proving highly susceptible to racist pressure on the issue of school busing.

The proposition carried overwhelmingly in the Black and Chicano districts, but was beaten in the Anglo districts, which have a larger number of voters.

In a contest that underlined growing voter disenchantment with traditional machine politicians, Tom Hayden polled 1.2 million votes in his campaign against Democratic incumbent John Tunney, who received 1.8 million votes. The other votes went to lesser known candidates.

When Hayden opened his campaign, few took the venture seriously. In the first months of the campaign, pollsters credited Hayden with about 15 percent of the vote, but as the campaign continued his support grew. In the final days some pollsters saw him running neck and neck with Tunney and even ventured that an upset was not precluded.

Tunney apparently estimated the situation the same way. Three days before the election he entered into a television debate with Hayden, a reversal of previous campaign strategy based on trying to ignore his opponent.

Hayden's big vote is particularly significant in that it was won in a primary election. In the primaries, where only a very small percentage of

the voters participate, it is particularly difficult for a newcomer without resources to challenge an entrenched incumbent commanding substantial machine resources. It takes a disgruntled electorate to register the kind of vote Hayden received.

The result of the primary was hailed by Hayden as a fantastic victory. In terms of his personal career that ultimately may prove not too far off the mark.

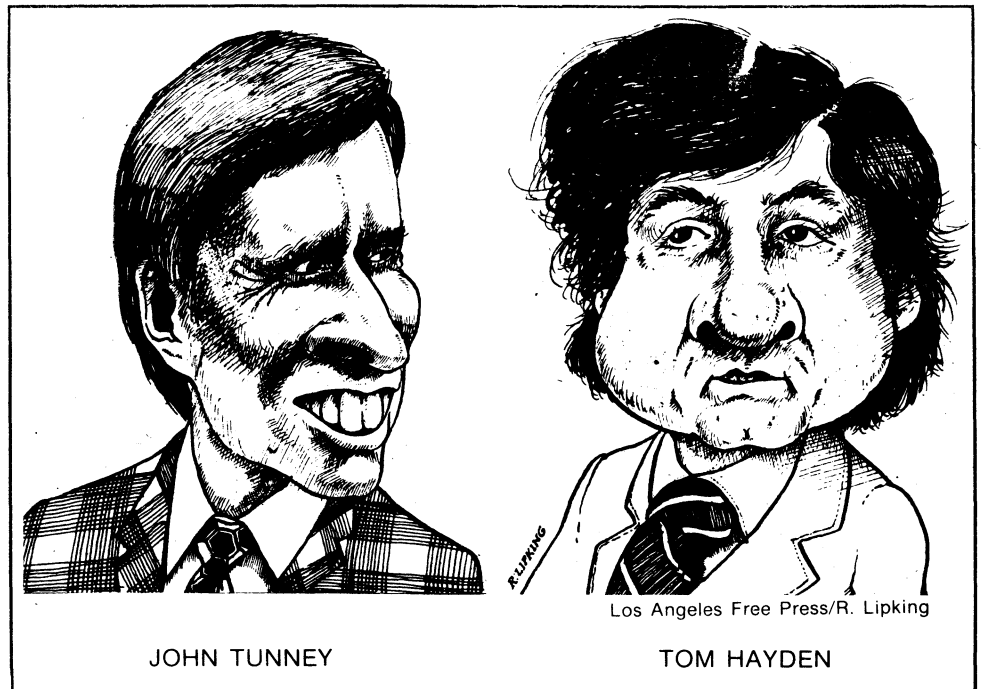
But in terms of channeling voter discontent in a positive direction—that is, away from the Democratic party,

the campaign purportedly proud of his radical background, he devoted his time on the broadcast trying to erase that image.

In response to Tunney's charge that in the past he had not been friendly to Israel, Hayden responded that while the "new left" of his youth had that image, he personally had always supported Israel.

Hayden also took the opportunity of the debate to backtrack on his earlier proposal to cut the present \$110 billion war budget by 50 percent.

Asked if he favored making the \$55



the root source of that discontent—Hayden's campaign had the very opposite result. It served only to bolster the thoroughly false notion that any kind of significant social progress can be achieved through either one of the two capitalist parties.

Like so many who preceded him down this path over the years, Hayden showed how easily "new" politicians are co-opted by the party that they profess to change for the better.

This was most clearly illustrated by the stance he took in the debate with Tunney. Whereas Hayden had entered

billion cut immediately, Hayden responded, "No, not overnight. We should start cutting and see what the Soviets do."

He suggested trimming it the first year by \$15 billion to \$20 billion.

Tunney said he would favor a cut of \$7 billion to \$10 billion.

Perhaps that bit of arithmetic offers a suggestion of the difference between the two.

Immediately following the election, Hayden announced his intention to vote for Tunney in November.

S.F. child-care vote loses to tax-hike scare

By Carole Seligman

SAN FRANCISCO—In the June 8 elections here Proposition I was defeated by a vote of 71,724 in favor to 99,833 against. The measure would have maintained the official city policy of making low-cost, quality public child care available to all San Francisco children.

Although the measure was initially passed with a "yes" vote of 97,000 in the 1973 election, the board of supervisors refused to implement it. Instead they placed the referendum back on the ballot in order to campaign for its defeat and cut off the growing movement for implementation.

Why did the measure pass in 1973 and fail in 1976?

This spring a "No on I" committee was formed and backed by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, real estate tycoon Walter Shorenstein, and Ben Swig, owner of the Fairmont Hotel and Democratic party kingmaker in city politics.

This committee hired a public relations firm to run the campaign. In newspaper ads and brochures it spread the lie that Proposition I would bankrupt the city, turning it into another

New York.

Funds, it claimed, would have to be raised through a stiff increase in taxes for homeowners—mostly working people—and through cutbacks in other social services.

These arguments were circulated through the media, which editorialized for a "no" vote on the referendum.

Child-care proponents organized an energetic campaign to counter this barrage of false propaganda. First, they stressed the desperate need for child care.

"Quality childcare is needed by more and more families," said a leaflet put out by the Yes on Childcare Committee. "The rising cost of living means that both parents need to work. Thousands of single parents are working to support their children. . . . Childcare programs are as much a necessity for today's families as is public education."

The committee exposed the phony tax-hike argument of the board of supervisors and its wealthy backers. It called for taxing the rich corporations—not working people—to finance child care.

The San Francisco Labor Council

called for a "yes" vote on Proposition I. Financial contributions to the Yes on Childcare Committee came from carpenters, painters, transport workers, American Federation of Teachers, and Classroom Teachers Association.

Both teachers unions as well as the Transport Workers and the Office and Professional Employees International Union involved their members in the "vote yes" publicity campaign.

This labor support was significant. But it was not enough.

Many supporters of child care were intimidated by the tax-hike scare because they did not see any powerful force determined to prevent an increase in working people's taxes and force the rich to foot the bill instead.

Notably absent from the list of Proposition I endorsers were almost every Democratic and Republican politician, including those who backed the measure in 1973. These politicians, like their counterparts in other city and state governments and in Congress, are now demanding that working people pay an even greater share of the cost of shrinking social services.

However, despite limited resources, the Vote Yes on Childcare Committee

and its labor and community supporters began to show San Franciscans the hollowness of the city government's "concern" for the average taxpayer. For instance, the committee helped expose the fact that taxes for several large corporations have decreased during the past year, while increasing for small homeowners.

Sylvia Weinstein, a coordinator of the Yes on Childcare Committee, commented after the referendum votes were tallied, "This kind of campaign, though it lost, remains a very positive example for labor, which must campaign against new antilabor measures promised by the board of supervisors for the November election."

"This movement for quality public child-care centers is far from over," Weinstein continued. "Undoubtedly the city will try to use the Proposition I defeat to justify cutbacks of existing child-care services."

"Child-care activists will have to remain vigilant to conduct a campaign against these attempts. After all, the vote of 71,724 for Proposition I is significant in light of the tremendous odds against it."

SWP gains support in ballot effort

California

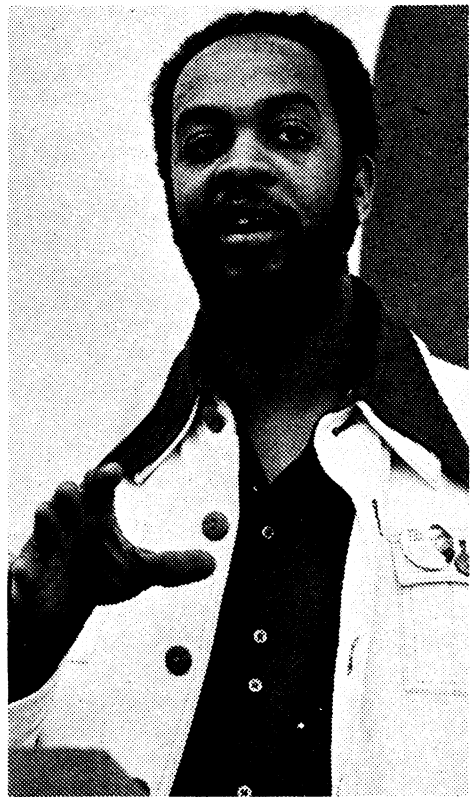
By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Major rallies here and in San Francisco will kick off the Socialist Workers party drive to obtain the nominating petitions necessary to win a place on the California ballot. Peter Camejo, the party's candidate for president, will be the featured speaker at both rallies.

The Northern California rally will be held Friday evening, June 25, at the First Unitarian Church in San Francisco. The Southern California rally will be held the following evening, June 26, at the Los Angeles Convention Center.

Along with Camejo, Omari Musa, the California SWP candidate for U.S. senator, will address both rallies.

Independent figures who are supporting the SWP's ballot rights have been invited to participate in the two rallies. The meetings will also hear



Militant/Harry Ring

OMARI MUSA: SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California.

Larry Seigle, a member of the SWP Political Committee.

An enormous effort will be required to win ballot spots for Musa, Camejo, and Camejo's running mate, Willie Mae Reid.

With one of the most undemocratic election laws in the nation, California requires that an independent ticket obtain the signatures of just under 100,000 registered voters. To assure that it has enough valid signatures the SWP is aiming to obtain a substantially greater number than the minimum.

Previously, the ballot law was even more restrictive, with 320,000 signatures required to place an independent nominee on the ballot. Recently, however, the state legislature—faced with legal challenges—reduced the amount to the present number.

To secure this large number of petitions, members and supporters of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance are organizing a concentrated drive. A number of volunteer teams will be working full-time for a three-week period in July obtaining signatures. Others will be putting in the maximum time they can weekends and evenings.

In addition, the socialist campaigners plan to enlist the aid of many other people who see the value of having a socialist ticket on the ballot. Five thousand posters appealing for petitioning volunteers will be posted and leaflets with the same message distributed throughout the state.

A special effort will be made to obtain publicity about the drive in the

alternate and campus press. Campaign activists will seek out time on radio talk shows and wherever else the word can be spread.

Other political groups will be asked to join the petition effort on the basis of helping to ensure the right of socialists to a ballot place.

State regulations provide that the nominating petitions may be circulated between July 5 and September 3. However, because many of its members will be traveling to Ohio in early August for a national party convention, the SWP proposes to obtain the signatures during a three-week period in July.

The campaign committee projects gathering a big part of the signatures on four Saturdays, beginning July 10. It is urging a maximum turnout of supporters for the Saturday drives.

Canvassers will be dispatched from the campaign offices listed in the Socialist Directory on page 27. Following the days' petitioning, there will be evening classes on various aspects of socialism, coupled with informal discussion.

The job of collecting so many signatures is a big one, but the Camejo campaigners are convinced that politically it is well worth the effort. Because of the national importance of California politics, a socialist ticket with a place on the state ballot is sure to have added impact throughout the country.

In California itself, with its huge number of voters, winning a ballot place will give added weight and credibility to the socialist slate and its program. It will also facilitate reaching more Californians with the socialist message, since it will open the way for greater media coverage.

The Communist party has announced that it too will campaign to obtain the necessary petitions to place its presidential slate on the ballot. It has nominated Gus Hall for president and Jarvis Tyner for vice-president.

The party has not indicated if it will run a candidate for the U.S. Senate.

Socialist Workers campaigners are preparing for the petition drive with enthusiasm. Experience in recent months has demonstrated a growing popular interest in socialist ideas and the campaigners are convinced that Camejo, Reid, and Musa will get an excellent response.

After the opening rallies, Camejo will remain in the state to help spur the petition effort.

Virginia

By Toba Singer

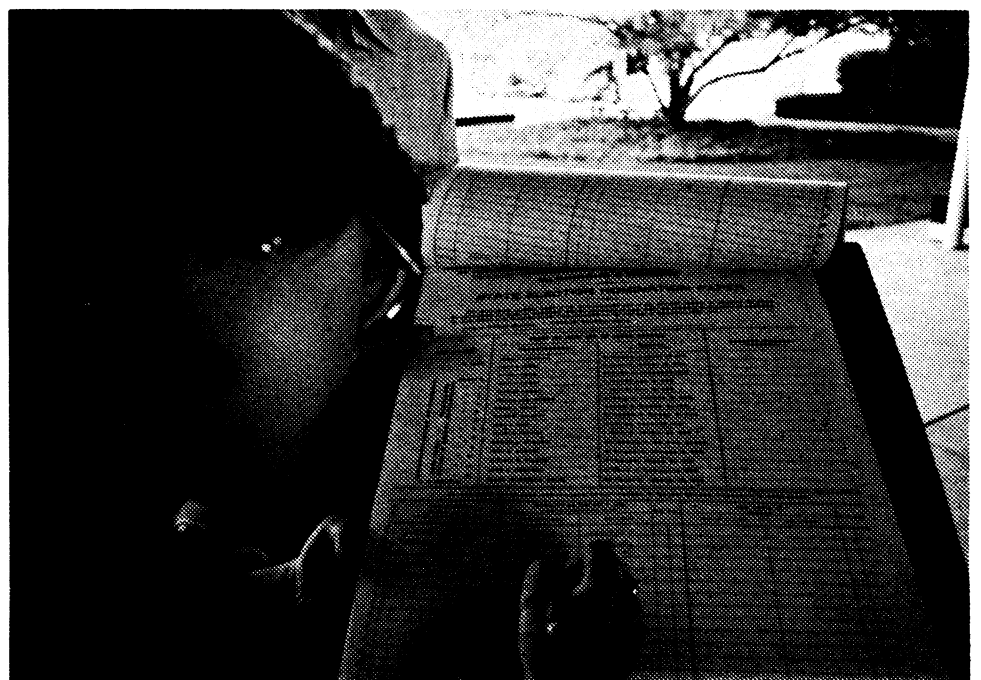
RICHMOND, Va.—Monument Avenue is where many of this city's richest people live—in colonial-style mansions that suggest that some in this former capital of the Confederacy still pine for the days of plantation society.

The sweeping avenue derives its name from monuments to Confederate war heroes that state officials have chosen to place along its centerstrip. These include Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and Stonewall Jackson.

The sentiment that glorifies these upholders of slavery is still alive here. Corporations such as Reynolds Metals and Phillip Morris Tobacco maintain all-white executive office staffs and hand out skilled jobs to whites only. The city's large Black population occupies the lowest-paying unskilled and maintenance jobs.

City politicians recently annexed a nearby white suburb to eliminate a Black voting majority in Richmond. The local school system faces a huge budget cut this year.

For the first time, the Socialist Workers party plans to challenge this style of racism in Virginia. On June 12, Socialist Workers campaign sup-



Militant/Susan Ellis

Voter signs to place Camejo and Reid on ballot in Massachusetts

porters began an ambitious petition drive to collect more than the 8,800 signatures required to place Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid on the ballot here.

Virginia socialists will field a team of full-time petitioners for several weeks. And supporters from one end of the state to the other will help gather signatures.

One team member, Michael Pennock, is a kindergarten teacher and an activist in the Richmond Education Association (REA). Recent REA picket lines forced the city administration to restore 150 endangered teaching positions.

Pennock is the REA's delegate to the Virginia ERA Ratification Council and secretary of the council. He joined the SWP last November, after reading the *Militant* for a few years.

Pennock explained why he planned to join the petitioning team: "Putting Camejo and Reid on the ballot will make it possible for thousands of people like me—who can expect to lose their jobs at any moment and who are fed up with attacks on the rights of Blacks and women—to vote for candidates who are fighting on the side of working people."

Midway in the petitioning effort, SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid will speak here on "Attacks on Black Rights and the '76 Elections." Reid will be welcomed to Richmond by Bessida White, policy board member of the Virginia Women's Political Caucus and member of the National Black Feminist Organization; and Barbara Tinsley, president-elect of the Rich-



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

WILLIE MAE REID: SWP vice-presidential candidate will speak June 19 in Richmond, Virginia, at rally to boost ballot effort.

mond Education Association.

Reid will speak at 8:00 p.m., Saturday, June 19, at the Battery Park Community Center. Admission is one dollar. For more information call (804) 232-3769.

Massachusetts

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON, June 14—Supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign have gathered 44,435 signatures, surpassing the required 37,000 valid signatures necessary to place socialist candidates on the Massachusetts ballot in the fall.

But because of undemocratic election laws and arbitrary ballot practices against smaller parties, the socialists are aiming to gather thousands more signatures to assure a spot for presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, and for Carol Henderson Evans, the party's nominee for U.S. Senate.

The socialists are also fielding James "Mac" Warren for U.S. Congress in the Ninth Congressional District. Twenty-five hundred signatures are required to place Warren's name on the ballot.

Supporters gathered 8,094 signatures on Saturday, June 12, petitioning in and around Boston and in Worcester and Springfield.

A dozen or more supporters are petitioning full-time in the effort, and others volunteer hours in the evenings and on weekends. State law requires that all signatures be filed by June 29.

Missouri

By Ken Shilman

ST. LOUIS, June 14—With close to 14,000 signatures already collected, Missouri socialists are well on their way toward the state's requirement of 18,000 signatures on petitions to place the Socialist Workers party's state and national candidates on the November ballot.

"The state of Missouri unfairly ruled our 1974 candidate for U.S. Senate off the ballot," Barbara Bowman, the current candidate for that position, told the *Militant*. "We are still fighting mad about that. We are aiming to get several thousand above the amount required. In addition, we will mobilize support for our ballot rights in case the state tries it again."

The drive will continue at least throughout the month of June and will be centered in the areas surrounding St. Louis and Kansas City. Anyone who can help should contact the campaign committee at 4660 Maryland, Suite 12, St. Louis, Missouri, or call (314) 367-2520.

FBI burglars threaten to name higher-ups

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—Three FBI agents who are defendants in the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government harassment are threatening to implicate high government officials to get themselves off the hook.

The socialists recently added George Baxtrum, Arthur Greene, and John Malone to the lawsuit as defendants. They joined the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies being sued by the socialists.

These FBI agents were added after the government released documents describing ninety-two burglaries of socialist offices during the 1960s. Although FBI censors had gone through the documents to blot out the names of individual agents, they overlooked the names of Baxtrum and Greene. Malone was the New York supervisor who authorized the burglaries.

As it turns out, Baxtrum and Greene were not just minor gumshoes. During the time they carried out their black-bag jobs the two were actually in charge of investigating the SWP and YSA in New York.

The Justice Department agonized for several weeks over whether to defend the three men. The agents had carried out their dirty work for the FBI. But the administration was worried that defending the burglars might be politically embarrassing. After all, the FBI is supposed to be cleaning up its image.

At the same time, if the three men were thrown to the wolves they might lash out in their own defense.

The Justice Department finally decided to take a middle road. They refused to provide government lawyers for the three, but they agreed to use government funds to hire private lawyers.

This compromise, however, is showing signs of backfiring.

Trial date postponed

At a court hearing June 10 Judge Thomas Griesa postponed the July 1 trial date for the socialists' suit against government harassment. A new date has not been set. It is unlikely, however, that the trial will begin before January 1977.

Griesa was forced to postpone the trial because much of the evidence is still missing. The lawsuit has already forced the FBI to turn over material about its Cointelpro activities and other illegal spying operations. But the government has not produced all the documents Griesa has ordered.

Syd Stapleton of the Political Rights Defense Fund hailed the trial's postponement. The PRDF is organizing support for the case.

"This means we don't have a July deadline cutting off the flow of government documents that are crucial to our case," Stapleton said. "We need more time to go through the FBI files that are being turned over now—and all the records from other government agencies that will be produced in the coming weeks and months."

Stapleton added, "During these extra months before the trial we will be able to enlist even broader support for the case. We have time now to go to many more organizations and individuals to explain the issues of the case and get their support."

—D.R.



The burglars' lawyers showed up in court June 8 to defend their clients. To save their own necks, the FBI agents are willing to name higher-ups who authorized the illegal break-ins.

"We are going to implead people, Your Honor, and lots of people," said the burglars' lawyer.

"Implead" is a legal term for adding what are called "third-party defendants" to a lawsuit. Herbert Jordan, one of the socialists' attorneys, explained it this way:

"If you are sued for something you were ordered to do by your boss, then you might want to implead your boss. Then if you have to pay damages you could get the money back from your boss, since he was the reason you did it."

The burglars' lawyers complained that their clients were only following orders when they did the break-ins. They had approval from the FBI director and attorney general, argued the lawyers.

From 1960 to 1966, when the break-ins occurred, the attorney generals were Democratic liberals—Robert Kennedy and Nicholas Katzenbach. Ramsey Clark was deputy attorney general from 1965 to 1966.

The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, headed by Frank Church (D-Idaho), already proved that government officials were involved in illegal FBI spying. Attorney General Robert Kennedy authorized the illegal wiretaps against Martin Luther King, Jr., for example. Katzenbach knew of the FBI's crusade to smear King—and didn't put a stop to it.

The burglars' claim that high Washington officials ordered and approved their break-ins doesn't help the government defense. This is only one of several problems confronting lawyers in the defense camp.

Friction in defense camp

Judge Thomas Griesa is now holding court hearings twice a week to discuss efforts to get out all the evidence and other issues in the case. As the number of defense lawyers increases at the hearings, so do the problems for U.S. attorneys.

At recent court hearings there have been as many as a dozen lawyers present to watch out for the interests of various defendants. There were lawyers for the burglars, for the CIA, and for the FBI. Each of these defendants

has their own idea of who must come out clean in this case. And they don't always agree with the U.S. attorneys, who are supposed to be in charge of the overall government defense.

Friction among defense lawyers was visible in their frequent whispered conferences during the hearing. One U.S. attorney, describing the effort to get agreement among all the lawyers in his camp, complained that "there's been a lot of tension in this room today" as he left the courtroom.

CIA files ordered

One source of tension for the defense lawyers is the question of what documents from their secret files will be turned over to the SWP and YSA. Despite their objections and stalling, the government agencies now face court orders to turn over documents.

The CIA has been ordered, for example, to gather its records on the Fourth International. CIA agents had previously testified about the spy agency's elaborate computerized filing system.

But now, government lawyers said,

they have run into a problem. The computerized files only go back to 1967.

"You must have some filing system," Griesa pointed out to the CIA lawyer. He ordered the CIA to begin compiling material they have on the Fourth International prior to 1967.

"As far as anybody could foresee now just about anything about the Fourth International in the files of the CIA could be relevant," Griesa added.

FBI 'play book'

The socialists have also demanded that the FBI turn over its Manual of Procedure.

William Brandt, a government lawyer, objected in dismay. "It is like giving out your play book to an opposing team before the game."

Brandt said the government would agree to show a few portions of the FBI manual to the socialists' attorneys, but not to any members of the SWP or YSA.

Leonard Boudin, one of the socialists' attorneys, objected to the proposal. Let the FBI pick out what portions of the manual to show him? "I don't like, frankly, to put myself in the hands of the government and I don't think I am required to do so," Boudin answered.

Boudin also rejected the attempt to prevent the socialists from examining the manual. "I will not look at anything that I cannot show a single one of my clients," said Boudin.

Government supersecrets

At recent court hearings attorneys have also discussed a mysterious "top secret" government document. The U.S. attorneys refuse to say anything about this file. They will not explain which government agency the document is from or what it deals with. Even the legal papers asking to keep the document hidden were stamped "top secret." No one could look at them except the judge and those with a security clearance to look inside some special government safe.

As for other previously secret government files, the lawyers told what happened to fifteen or twenty boxes that were on the way to New York from Washington. Some of this new batch of documents will not be available yet because, as the lawyer explained, "some of it was lost in transit."

New PRDF sponsors

Several Puerto Rican and Chicano leaders, women's rights leaders, and other political activists recently added their names as sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF is raising money and organizing support for the lawsuit brought by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying and harassment.

New PRDF sponsors include José Alberto Alvarez, first secretary of the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist party. The PSP has recently launched a campaign against FBI harassment of the Puerto Rican independence movement.

Several activists endorsed the PRDF at the recent conference organized by the National Chicano Forum in Salt Lake City. These included Abelardo Delgado, a well-known Chicano poet and co-chairperson of the National Chicano Forum Steering Committee.

Others at that national gathering who became sponsors include: Eugene Hernández of La Raza Unida

party in San Fernando, California; F.D. Cervantes, Director of Ethnic Studies at the University of Southern California; Pedro Cavazos of the Washington State Chicano Political Organization; Father Roberto Peña of PADRES in San Antonio; and Alfredo Figueroa of the Escuela de la Raza Unida in Blythe, California.

Julieta Gonzalez, from the Mexican American Women's National Association (MANA) also added her support to the PRDF efforts.

Other recent sponsors are Nancy Borman of *Majority Report*, a New York women's newspaper; and Frank Wilkinson of the National Committee against Repressive Legislation, which is active in the fight against Senate Bill 1.

An appeal for financial support to the PRDF has been issued recently by Dennis Banks, Noam Chomsky, Henry Steele Commager, Ronald Dellums, Daniel Ellsberg, Francine du Plessix Gray, Robert Heilbroner, and Gloria Steinem.

Secret meetings with prosecution

FBI files prove Rosenberg judge biased

By Diane Rupp

Newly released FBI records show that Irving Kaufman was no impartial tribune of justice when he sentenced Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to death. Attorneys for Michael and Robert Meeropol, the Rosenbergs' sons, recently made public FBI files about Kaufman's activity from 1951 to 1975.

Judge Kaufman presided over the 1951 trial when the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell were charged with giving atomic bomb secrets to the Soviet Union. The Rosenbergs were put to death in 1953, still declaring their innocence.

The Meeropols, working with the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, have been trying to force the government to turn over records on the case.

The files on Kaufman report his secret conversations and correspondence with prosecution lawyers, the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, and Victor Riesel, a notorious witch-hunting columnist.

Previously Kaufman claimed he had consulted no one about what sentences he would give the Rosenbergs. Rules of ethics for judges forbid discussing the case unless both sides are represented.

Yet the FBI documents show Kaufman talking privately to a number of people about his plans before sentencing the Rosenbergs to death—to two other judges and to prosecuting attorney Roy Cohn. Another FBI memo records Victor Riesel telling how Kaufman had complained that Cohn was talking too much about the case.

Just before the Rosenbergs went to the electric chair in 1953 the defense sought a stay of execution from the



June 19, 1953: Rosenberg supporters gather in New York City on night of execution

U.S. Supreme Court. This happened in the midst of worldwide demands that they not be executed, including an appeal by the pope.

The new FBI papers report that the attorney general, representing the prosecution, secretly met with Supreme Court Chief Justice Fred Vinson. They came to an agreement. If one of the justices did grant a stay of execution, Vinson would call together a special session of the Supreme Court to vacate, or veto, the stay.

Justice William Douglas did grant a delay, and Vinson did call a special session to vacate that order. Bonnie Brower, one of the Meeropols' lawyers, pointed out that if it happened as reported in the FBI files, through a secret meeting between the judge and prosecution, it was "absolutely illegal."

Kaufman didn't lose interest in the case even after the Rosenbergs were convicted. The FBI files show the bloodthirsty judge complaining about delays in the Rosenbergs' appeals and execution. An FBI agent reports Kaufman was "pointing out strongly that it was not in the interest of the government to permit a delay in this matter."

Kaufman, along with the FBI, was alarmed when people began to reexamine the Rosenberg case.

Rules of ethics for judges prevent Kaufman speaking out on the topic. So the judge turned to J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI to suppress criticism.

When a play came out in 1969 dramatizing the witch-hunt trial, for example, Kaufman telephoned J. Ed-

gar Hoover. The FBI moved into action. But an FBI memo reports disappointing results: the agency could dig up "no derogatory information on Tarrant [the play's director] or any of the actors or actresses."

The FBI also made a great effort to get a book about the Rosenberg trial, *Invitation to an Inquest*, "smothered

and forced out of the public eye." (See box.)

The FBI sent Kaufman clippings from the national press to keep him up to date, distributed quantities of magazine articles that defended the judge, and supplied Kaufman with material to bolster his version of what had happened.

The latest document on Kaufman in the released files is an FBI memorandum dated May 4, 1975. In it an agent reports the judge's concern "that some counter-action should be taken to combat" the publicity given the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

An FBI report dated April 10, 1974, concluded that "all judges and attorneys who handled this case were considered to be of the highest caliber. Current slanted efforts to resurrect doubt in this matter appear to be pure sensationalism with no factual basis."

Highest caliber? Irving Saypol, chief prosecutor in the Rosenberg case, now chief justice of the New York State Supreme Court, is under indictment for bribery and three counts of perjury. And the FBI files document the quality of Kaufman's justice.

Kaufman is currently chief judge of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. The Meeropols' attorneys have called for a special committee of inquiry to investigate all the facts about his conduct in the Rosenberg trial.



Judge Irving Kaufman: FBI declared him judge of 'highest caliber.'

FBI: 'Smother' that book

When *Invitation to an Inquest* was published in 1965 the authors, Walter and Miriam Schneir, tried to publicize it on television talk shows. Newly released government files show how the FBI tried to have this book about the Rosenberg case "smothered and forced out of the public eye."

William C. Sullivan, assistant director of the FBI at the time, wrote that he "took the liberty of telling [deleted] to instruct [deleted] not to permit the Schneirs to go on his television program for no good would accrue from it."

"As I see it," Sullivan wrote, "the first thing we should do in this matter is to take careful steps to secure the cooperation of friendly television stations and prevent this subversive effort from being successful."

He added that another "syndicated columnist" and "a number of Catholic publications" would also

help the FBI.

Walter Schneir told the *Militant*, "We feel reasonably sure when we get our FBI files we'll find evidence of other efforts on the part of the FBI to keep up with what we were doing. They were keenly interested in any kind of dissent whatsoever."

Miriam Schneir emphasized that "we don't by any means feel that we were singled out for any exceptional treatment. . . . We were relatively fortunate in evading their attempt to smother what we were trying to say, whereas other people no doubt were not anywhere near as lucky."

The Schneirs characterized the newly released documents on the FBI efforts at thought control as "outrageous."

"Everyone who can get any bit of material from the FBI should make it available so that everyone can see what the government has done, operating behind a facade of legality," Walter Schneir suggested.

Bored of police files? Communist party chief is

By Larry Seigle

Bored by too many disclosures of illegal FBI activity? Worried about the money it costs taxpayers to search those files and make copies of the documents? Think it's all a big waste of time?

At least one prominent member of the Communist party answers "yes." He is William Allan, a leader of the CP in Michigan.

"Police files bore top Red—He doesn't want his dossier," reads the headline on a recent article about Allan in the *Detroit News*. Allan said he doesn't "give a damn" about secret police files on him.

"His lack of interest, he says, is motivated primarily because of what it would cost the taxpayers," the *News* reports.

"Besides," he added, "if they turned them over to me, I'd probably have to hire a U-Haul truck to get them

home. . . . Fact of the matter is that I don't really care what they had to say about me," said Allan.

Allan's feigned lack of interest in the secret police files is the only attempt at an explanation this writer has seen for the astonishing refusal of the Communist party to take any steps to expose the FBI's decades-long disruption program against it.

For a brief time following the publication of documents from the FBI's "Operation Hoodwink," a scheme to provoke Mafia warfare against the CP, the party newspaper the *Daily World* carried stories reporting that the CP would begin legal action to obtain the Hoodwink files. But this has apparently been dropped. The *Daily World* hasn't mentioned it for some time.

Allan's explanation for his party's inaction isn't very convincing. The CP has been one of the prime targets of government harassment, victimiza-

tions, illegal spying, and political frame-ups of members and leaders of Black and radical groups.

Surely members and sympathizers of the CP wouldn't be "bored" if they could get their hands on some of the documents laying bare the FBI's war of disruption, and similar operations by city and state cops.

But let's assume that the Stalinists do have some legitimate reason—whatever it may be—for not taking some kind of legal and political offensive against the secret police. Shouldn't they at the very least extend solidarity to those, like the Socialist Workers party, who are successfully waging such a battle?

The SWP suit has won backing from a number of union locals, from Black leaders and organizations, from political activists representing many points of view, and from prominent civil libertarians across the country. These

groups and individuals don't agree with the SWP on every political issue, but they understand the need to close ranks in defense of democratic rights.

But the sad fact is that the CP has steadfastly refused to support the SWP case. What's more, the *Daily World* continues to impose a news blackout on the socialists' suit. Stories about the case carried on the front pages of daily newspapers from coast to coast can't make it past the Stalinist censors at the *Daily World*.

Why this scandalous silence?

Wouldn't a victory in this case be in the interests of the Communist party, its members, and its supporters? Is the CP so factional that it won't support a fight for democratic rights being conducted by a group that it doesn't agree with?

Or is the entire CP leadership, like William Allan, just "bored" with the whole thing?

Defend child care

Thousands of New Yorkers marched in the streets June 8 and 11 to protest planned cutbacks in day care. On July 1, forty-nine centers that served 3,500 children will be closed, and 1,500 workers laid off.

The New York cutbacks will come on the heels of the recent Senate vote to uphold President Ford's veto of a \$125 million day-care bill and the defeat of the child-care referendum in San Francisco. From coast to coast, the Democratic and Republican politicians are all singing the same tune: "No money."

Strangely enough, these repeated poverty pleas from capitalist politicians haven't stopped them from backing the record \$114 billion military budget submitted by the Ford administration. One House committee controlled by Democrats even wants to add a couple of billion for good measure.

The attack on child care and other social services is not the result of some mysterious evaporation of the wealth of this society. It is part of the drive by big business and its representatives in the Democratic and Republican parties to cut back the standard of living of working people.

The demonstrations in New York were a step in the right direction. Labor unions, Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican groups, and the women's movement should unite to demand: Child care, not warfare!

SWP ballot drive

The 1976 presidential primary road show is over. The assorted capitalist candidates offered nothing in the way of solutions to the real problems faced by working people.

Fortunately, the Socialist Workers party presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid will be offering voters a real alternative. There is a great obstacle, however, to winning a hearing for the socialist program of putting human needs before profit.

Democratic and Republican party politicians have written and passed undemocratic election laws to preserve their political stranglehold. Over this summer, Camejo and Reid supporters must gather hundreds of thousands of signatures on petitions in order to meet their goal of putting the socialist candidates on the November ballot in thirty states and the District of Columbia.

This petitioning drive is currently under way. On July 5, the drive enters high gear with the beginning of an all-out push to put the socialist alternative on the California ballot for the first time.

We urge all readers of the *Militant* to join this effort.

Kissinger & torture

Recent reports have brought to light new facts on the use of torture by dictatorial regimes in Chile, India, and Iran. In the case of Chile, the report by the Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States led Henry Kissinger to scurry to issue a statement denouncing this barbaric practice. Kissinger did not want the terrified screams of Chile's torture victims to penetrate the patriotic music being drummed up by Washington in this bicentennial year.

While backing torture in the secret, dark places of U.S.-supported regimes from Latin America to South Africa, Kissinger condemns it in public. This hypocrisy flows not from any moral qualms on his part. Kissinger simply fears the widespread hatred of these inhuman methods, which are required to prop up an outdated capitalist system.

Torture cannot be stopped at the U.S. border.

Who can believe that a government willing to slaughter hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese will put on kid gloves when it feels its interests threatened by a rebellious population at home?

Ominous signs already exist. Just ask those condemned to rot in American prisons. Or stop to consider the moral fiber of a government that plots the assassinations of foreign leaders and disrupts—often violently—the legitimate activities of dissenters in this country.

This should be reason enough for all supporters of human rights to condemn Washington's support to torturers around the world.

How Brown shafted UFW

There was one minor factual error in the excellent article by Steve Clark on California's Governor Brown in the issue of the *Militant* dated June 18.

The article states that Leo McCarthy, speaker of the California Assembly and Brown's campaign manager in his bid for the presidential nomination, rammed a bill through the assembly denying organizers access to workers in the field during the work day.

The bill which McCarthy sponsored, and Brown hailed, directed the Agricultural Labor Relations Board to "modify" its ruling permitting such access.

The bill died in the Senate and the ALRB died for lack of funding, so the access ruling still remains intact—if abstract, since no elections are being held.

Clark's general point about how McCarthy—with Brown's obvious agreement—shafted the United Farm Workers is, however, entirely correct.

The "funding" for the ALRB which McCarthy's bill provided was only enough to pay the board's back debts, not enough to finance further elections.

Earlier McCarthy canceled public hearings on a bill supported by the UFW which would not have crippled the board. And the proposed state budget that McCarthy just guided through the assembly provides no funding for the ALRB.

Harry Ring
Los Angeles, California

She liked the cover

The front cover of the June 18 *Militant* is the way the paper should look. That was the issue that had "Hands off Lebanon!" as the main headline, but also prominently featured several other stories on the cover.

In New Orleans we sold 150 copies on Saturday, June 12. It's a good idea to have a variety of items displayed on the front page.

That way you can appeal to more people—because at least one of the issues featured is of interest to most people that you talk to.

It also helps the salespeople if the bundle comes in too late for them to really read and absorb the paper before going out on Saturday sales. In selling the paper all they have to do is glance at the front cover to see some of the main items they may want to point out when approaching prospective buyers.

Pearl Chertov
New Orleans, Louisiana

Caravan for Indian rights

A caravan of Native Americans crossing the country en route to Washington, D.C., which it expects to reach by July 4, stopped in St. Louis for several days. After some negotiations, they were given permission to camp out during their stay here at the Gateway Memorial Arch, a gleaming steel tourist attraction that looms up next to the Mississippi River.

At this very symbolic site they showed movies and handed out literature.

Two hundred people came to watch the proceedings one night. I spoke to Leroy Mills Tukem, one of the organizers. When I told him that I wanted to get some information for the *Militant*, he said that he thought it was a very good paper.

The group is an educational caravan consisting of seventy-five people. They plan to cross the country educating

people about the plight of Native Americans. The caravan will arrive in Washington in time for a meeting with a joint session of Congress.

Tukem said that they have had a good reception along the way. The main points they're discussing are the fight of Native Americans for religious and cultural freedom, the necessity to uphold treaty rights, and the need to abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Tukem explained that the American people have not come too far in the last 200 years—200 years ago Native Americans, Chicanos, Blacks, and women were struggling for their rights. He said today we've *gained* a problem—multinational corporations are adding to this oppression.

Why can't 200 million Americans take control of them and end this oppression? he asked. If people think Vietnam is over—they're wrong, he added. My Lai massacres occur in the United States all the time.

Carole Lesnick
St. Louis, Missouri

Chicanos and socialism

When I was at the recent National Chicano Forum in Salt Lake City, I had a couple of experiences that illustrate how Chicanos are trying to come to grips with socialist ideas.

I gave a copy of the Socialist Workers party election platform to one participant who told me that someone had informed him that SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo is a "revisionist." He said that he wasn't sure what a revisionist is but he was voting for Camejo anyway.

When I asked this brother what reason had been given for labeling Camejo a revisionist, he replied that it was because Camejo criticizes Mao Tsetung. So I explained that Camejo was justified in criticizing Mao because of his attitude toward the dictatorships in Chile and the Philippines and his support of NATO.

Later another *carnal* approached me to express his distaste for the lack of democracy in the USSR. He wondered why he should support socialists if political freedoms are denied in the Soviet Union.

I explained our support for the economic advances there and why we call for a political revolution to throw out the bureaucratic dictatorship. He bought a copy of the pamphlet *Socialism and Democracy* by Linda Jenness.

These are only two of tens of examples of the intense interest in the socialist campaign and openness to our ideas.

Arturo Ramirez
Houston, Texas

Behind closed doors

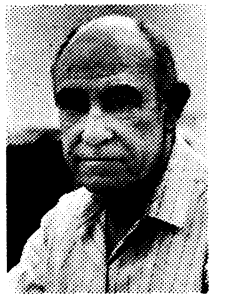
I have evidence of what goes on behind closed doors of prisons that readers might be interested in. Things the public never gets wind of.

I sent a check for fifty dollars to a prisoner to buy leather to make some wallets for me and the prison officials told him the leather was lost in shipment. But I have a copy of a document showing that the goods were delivered.

How does a prison think they can rehabilitate prisoners with stuff like this going on—not by prisoners, the so-called criminals, but by the officials? Ebby Garrison Hepola
Concord, North Carolina

Remove my name

I am writing to have my name removed from your mailing list. My



'Right to work' in Louisiana

[The following guest column is by Robert Connolly. Connolly, a machinist and member of the Socialist Workers party, also spoke at the Militant Forum he describes.]

NEW ORLEANS—A major fight is shaping up here between big business and the labor movement as the rulers of Louisiana are trying to ram a "right-to-work" law through the state legislature.

On one side is the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry (LABI). LABI is running a well-organized, highly financed campaign. It includes dozens of time slots on the major radio and TV stations throughout Louisiana as well as large ads in all of the state dailies.

On the other side is the trade-union movement. On June 6, in Baton Rouge, the state capital, more than 10,000 workers turned out for a statewide AFL-CIO protest against the proposed law.

Victor Bussie, state AFL-CIO president, declared at the demonstration, "This law would lower your wages, bust up and weaken the unions, and make working conditions worse. If they win, they won't stop there. We have got to let the legislature know we don't want this law at all."

Louisiana is the only state in the South that does not have a so-called "right-to-work" law on the books.

These laws make the union shop illegal—thereby allowing workplaces that have union shops to hire nonunion workers.

The bosses claim union shops "violate the democratic rights of workers" and that workers will be better off without them. But this false argument was clearly debunked by Nat Lacour, president of the United Teachers of New Orleans, at the New Orleans Militant Forum May 14.

In answer to LABI's assertion that the "right-to-work" law would attract more industry to Louisiana

and that there would consequently be more jobs, Lacour pointed to the 1975 statistics.

In 1975, the "right-to-work" state of Arkansas saw 6,286 new jobs created; Mississippi, another "right-to-work" state, saw 12,000 new jobs.

There were 46,400 new jobs in Louisiana, Lacour stressed.

He also pointed out that LABI's claims about wages were equally unfounded. The average weekly wage in manufacturing in the "right-to-work" states of Arkansas and Mississippi was \$139 per week in 1975.

In Louisiana it was \$191.20.

Lacour stressed the importance of going on a campaign against LABI to explain the real issues to workers. He cited polls that show that when the actual meaning of "right-to-work" laws is explained to workers, a large majority will oppose them. But this real meaning is completely hidden and distorted by the capitalist news media.

Lacour traced the attack on Louisiana workers to the national campaign by the capitalists to drive down workers' living standards everywhere and to take away rights that the union movement struggled for years to attain from the bosses.

On a nationwide basis the attack on the union shop is being organized by the National Right to Work Committee, founded in 1955 by former U.S. Rep. Fred Hartley. Hartley was cosponsor of the notorious antilabor Taft-Hartley Act. Another founder of this reactionary committee was John Birchard Edwin S. Dillard.

In another southern state, Arkansas, the labor movement is waging a struggle to repeal that state's twenty-two-year-old ban on the union shop.

Lacour encouraged everyone at the Militant Forum to take part in the highly successful June 6 Baton Rouge rally. We will send further information on this struggle to the *Militant* as it is available.

reasons are that during the period I received your introductory issues I found that:

1. You fan emotions and raise false hopes for Blacks and other minorities in the USA, e.g. *socialism*.

2. You champion causes that have little present or future value—Equal Rights Amendment, abortion, and a socialist for president in 1977.

3. Your understanding of the liberation process and its problems lacks depth and consistency of support, e.g. Angola.

4. You lack sympathy and understanding of the human and leadership problems in the USA and USSR.

E.N.
Eugene, Oregon

Stalinist correction

A letter in the June 11 *Militant* on "Stalinist 'mistakes'" reminds me of an encounter I had with a Young Workers Liberation League member at the April 1975 "Jobs for All" rally in Washington, D.C.

"Like to check out the latest *Militant*?" I asked.

"Read how the Communist party supported no-strike pledges and attacked civil rights struggles during World War II."

"We purged all those leaders," he answered scornfully. "That's something the Socialist Workers party won't tell you."

Oh.
Andy Towbin
New York, New York

L.A. justice?

Two articles in today's *Los Angeles Times*, same section, a few pages apart:

One titled "Fired officer fined in theft of gun planted on suspect." To summarize the contents of the article, a man (police officer) and a fellow officer stopped "on a hunch" a car driven by James Baldwin because they thought it matched the description of a stolen car.

One of the cops had in his possession a gun which he had stolen and filed off the serial number. The cop shot Baldwin to death (because the man "suddenly ran to his car") and planted the stolen weapon.

The cop was fired from the police force, indicted for filing off the serial number and for having stolen the weapon. He was fined \$625.

The second article was titled, "L.A. man shot, killed in struggle with CHP officer."

A summary of the article: Irvin Woods was driving at 3:00 a.m. with a companion and her three-year-old child. His car broke down. There was an abandoned car on the highway. He tried to "hot-wire" the car from the hood.

Two California Highway Patrol cops saw Woods. Woods was not armed. The result: both cops pumped slugs into Woods's chest and killed him.

You reckon the two state cops may be fined—oh, let's say—\$8.50 each?

Michele Mooney
Los Angeles, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



New bite on 'illegals'

[The following guest column is by Pedro Vázquez, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate in Texas.]

SAN ANTONIO—Who let the dogs loose?

The Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice has unleashed a new bite on Mexican workers who have no immigration permits.

The INS, known as *la migra* in the Chicano community, is sweeping the barrios in search of "illegals." In three weeks of May alone, more than 1,000 undocumented workers were picked up in the Dallas area. In one week, 200 were picked up in Austin and 150 in Waco.

One of the most vociferous mouthpieces in San Antonio of the racist propaganda that accompanies the raids has been the *Express*, a daily newspaper here.

In a series of articles that began at the end of May, the *Express* blames "illegal aliens" for all the evils of U.S. society—from unemployment, drug traffic, and disease, to murder and rape.

One article based on reports from state health officials cites the high incidence of tuberculosis and other communicable diseases among "illegals."

And to create an even greater hysteria about the health danger Mexicans represent, the *Express* alleges that one "alien" was apprehended who had leprosy while working in a dairy.

An INS investigator was also quoted as saying that undocumented Mexican workers today are "an entirely different breed of cat," because they are hardened criminals.

A federal judge chimes in, "A lot of the ones we see today have no compunctions against violating the law." He added, "The majority of them are the undesirable element of their country—those the country doesn't want."

And to add injury to insult, the district director of the INS in San Antonio depicts undocumented workers as foreign invaders who come to take away

jobs and cause high unemployment. Alleging that there are 250,000 undocumented workers in the San Antonio area, he said, "We are stepping up activity, stressing areas where we can free jobs that could, and should, be available to our own citizens."

Such racism poses a threat not only to undocumented workers, who are among the worst-paid and most exploited workers, but to all *mexicanos* and Chicanos, "legal" or "illegal."

The *Express* made this transparently clear by quoting a federal judge who said, "Because of San Antonio's heavy Mexican-American culture, the illegal alien blends almost immediately into the population."

One major aim of the series was to drum up support for the Rodino bill, a law that is now before the U.S. Congress. It would make it illegal for an employer to knowingly hire an illegal alien.

This law would provide a new "legal" way for employers to systematically discriminate against Chicano and *mexicano* workers.

The claim that this law would make more jobs available to "legal" people is simply absurd. Why?

First, because the cause of unemployment is not that there are too many workers; the capitalist system needs permanent unemployment to drive down the wages of all workers.

Second, because such laws would never be enforced against employers. The bosses and *la migra* have had a long and cozy relationship that has allowed the capitalists to superexploit undocumented workers.

The real criminals in this whole situation—the huge U.S. corporations—go entirely unnoticed in the *Express* series. These corporations exploit Mexico's resources and labor, keeping unemployment there very high and forcing workers to come to the United States for jobs.

And the *same* corporations also exploit American workers, creating high unemployment here to hold down wages. Then they try to get workers on this side of the border to blame their problems on those who come from the other side.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Inflationary note—During the past decade the sale of dog food tripled.

Sound familiar?—How do you deal with illegal government practices? Simple. Make them legal. How do you deal with the sale of substandard meat to the army? Equally simple. Discussing the recent revelation of such sales, Army Secretary Martin Hoffmann said the army was examining its regulations to determine whether “overregulation” was driving away the best food contractors.

Sleep on this one—President Ford said he can get away from it all with skiing and golf. But, he added, “I can see the people with the black box not far away and I know the problems are always present. . . . That kind of military responsibility makes you think more than once . . . what you do



Herblock
‘A possible inflation high here, a possible deflation low there, possible stationary condition, and an 80% possibility of don't know’

and what you might have to do.” The “black box” contains the code through which the president can initiate a nuclear holocaust.

They deserve each other—The racist Jewish Defense League has endorsed Ronald Reagan for president because of his “strong commitment to stop communism” and his opposition to “a malignancy called détente.”

With tape den?—A Long Island family bought the Nixon vacation cottage in Bebe's Key Biscayne compound for \$320,000. (Nixon paid \$125,000 in 1969.) The house comes complete with carpeting, kitchen appliances, drapes, and bullet-proof windows.

Take that—A Los Angeles grand jury decided that no charges were

warranted against an ex-cop who killed a “suspect” in 1974. However, the cop was convicted of planting on the victim a gun that he stole during a burglary investigation. He was fined \$625.

Coffin-nail logic—The Tobacco Institute is opposing the drive in various states to establish public no-smoking areas. A spokesperson said their concern was that the industry is the only one where the user of a product, rather than the product itself, is under attack. Which strikes us as a fine example of making one of the victims the criminal.

Int'l law 'n order dep't—The director general of the Guatemala national police was busted in Los Angeles for shoplifting eight twenty-five-cent handkerchiefs.

Their Government

Elizabeth who?

WASHINGTON—First it was, Elizabeth who? Then it was, oh yeah, that neurotic girl he had so compassionately helped find a job. And finally, there was a humble admission on the floor of the House that yes, in the period between divorce and a new marriage, he had courted Miss Ray. But never, heaven forbid, had he used his power to put her on the government payroll solely to ensure her twenty-four-hour availability.

Thus goes the current Washington saga that is sure to outdistance Wilbur Mills's Tidal Basin incident as the “sex scandal” of the Ninety-fourth Congress. But it's more than that. When Elizabeth Ray announced in May that House honcho Wayne Hays had hired her on as mistress with a \$14,000 congressional salary, she offered a peek at how things really work on Capitol Hill.

She also created problems for more than just Wayne Hays. The biggest thing going in this election year is “anti-Washingtonism”: the attempt to turn widespread dissatisfaction and disgust with the government to the advantage of the so-called challengers. The Hays scandal was made to order.

How many other congressmen have mistresses on the payroll? What other tax money is being

squandered on the exotic tastes of our elected representatives? In order to defuse such embarrassing questions, some members of Congress decided they had to take action.

“People at home have a much clearer understanding of what is going on here than we think,” said Rep. Romano Mazzoli (D-Ky.). “We are all tarred with the same brush.”

There is a bitter irony to this whole affair. Back in 1967, Black Rep. Adam Clayton Powell was hounded out of Congress ostensibly for similar “improprieties.” The difference was that Powell was an outspoken Black representative from Harlem. Powell charged at the time that the drive against him was racist and that he only did what every white congressman did.

One of Powell's most sanctimonious and diligent persecutors was—you guessed it—Rep. Wayne Hays. Even in the midst of his denunciations of Powell's alleged government-financed trips with his receptionist, Hays himself took off for one of his many tax-subsidized jaunts to Europe.

Well, the chickens have come home to at least poke around a little. And while there will be no fury

Nancy Cole



like that faced by Black Representative Powell, Hays is in some hot water. Thus far he has been forced to resign from chairing the Democratic National Congressional Committee. He's trying desperately to hold onto the House Administration Committee. Powerful as he is, Hays may have to be sacrificed. But Congress will continue as before.

The women who work on Capitol Hill—who have been made the brunt of some bad jokes recently—will continue to be the lowest-paid congressional employees and at the absolute mercy of their arrogant bosses. There are no job descriptions or pay scales for congressional staffers. Civil rights laws barring discrimination don't apply in the lawmakers' offices. There is no job security.

And tax money will continue to be squandered because Congress is responsible only to the Democratic and Republican parties. In return for running the country in their interests, the superrich who control those parties have few objections when members of Congress want to skim a little off the top.

After all, what's \$14,000 compared with a \$115 billion war budget.

Women in Revolt

Abortion rights under attack

You're fourteen. Pregnant. You don't want to have a child, and you don't want your parents to know you're pregnant. What do you do?

Under current law in New York State, you can get an abortion if you want one—with or without parental consent. But that law has come under a barrage of attacks from “right to lifers,” who are now pressing hard for new legislation that denies minors the right to abortion unless their parents sign on the dotted line.

The state legislature is debating the bill right now. If it passes, doctors performing abortions on teen-agers without parental consent risk criminal penalties, including a possible year in jail.

Without access to safe, legal abortions, young women have few alternatives, all of them grim. Tell your parents, hoping they'll give you permission to have an abortion. Or, seek out a back-alley illegal abortionist. Attempt an abortion yourself. Have the child and quit school and/or your job.

The moves to restrict women's access to legal abortion are not limited to New York. A new study by the Alan Guttmacher Institute of Planned Parenthood shows that hospitals all over the country are denying women the right to control our own bodies. Highlights of the study appear in the June issue of the newsletter *Abortion Trends*:

- While more than one million women obtained abortions in 1975, perhaps as many as 770,000 women were unable to get abortions they wanted.
- Less than one-fifth of all public hospitals performed any abortions in the first quarter of 1975.
- Only five percent of the abortions were performed in rural parts of the country in 1974.
- Of the teen-agers in need of abortions in 1974, 160,000 were unable to obtain them.

The “right to lifers” who slap each other on the back every time a woman cannot obtain an abortion ought to look at the cold facts. Yes, murder is an issue in the abortion debate—the murder of

women who die through illegal or self-induced abortions. But the killing has dropped dramatically since abortion became legal in 1973. In 1972, thirty-nine deaths from illegal abortions were tallied officially, and many more not counted. By 1974, the number had dropped to five. In 1975, it was three.

This alone is an important reason to speak out against the criminal efforts to deny women legal abortions.

All supporters of women's rights should be on the alert for opportunities to protest these attacks and demand implementation of the law of the land. Our voices must be heard wherever state legislatures are trying to pass restrictive new abortion laws, wherever hospitals are turning away women who need abortions, and wherever anti-abortion demagogues like Democratic presidential candidate Ellen McCormack are spouting their hypocritical “pro-life” line.



Cindy Jaquith

Dems impose tuition, more cuts on CUNY

By José Pérez

Praising the "inspired dedication" of his fellow Democrats and "cooperative attitude" of his Republican opponents, New York Gov. Hugh Carey signed into law June 12 a bill imposing massive cuts on the City University of New York.

The immediate occasion was the "rescue" of the twenty-campus system from shutdown and default. CUNY had been closed since the end of May, when it ran out of money and couldn't give faculty members their monthly check.

The new law will mean at least \$48 million of fresh cuts, on top of the \$151 million already implemented or announced during this fiscal year.

It definitively ends free tuition, and ratifies the ending of open admissions decreed three months ago. And the law advances CUNY \$24 million, the amount that was said to be necessary to get the system reopened and functioning until July 1, when a new fiscal year begins.

But even the New York City comptroller admitted in a television interview that the whole shutdown and crisis at the city university had been "deliberately orchestrated."

In May, the city government reduced CUNY's budget allocation by \$36 million, saying the money was needed for "debt service"—payments to the banks.

Governor Carey followed up with a proposal to advance CUNY the money, as part of a legislative package that included ending free tuition and imposing more cutbacks.

The Democrats in the legislature balked at voting for the bill, and the Republicans refused to play the part of "forcing" the Democrats to do it.

Carey then tried to get the Board of Higher Education, which runs CUNY, to take the first step by voting to impose tuition. The BHE, a majority of which is appointed by, and responsive to, New York Mayor Abraham Beame, wouldn't do it.

The resignation of half the board a

few days before the default deadline led directly to the shutdown.

So the 17,000 teachers and 270,000 students were locked out. Beame appointed some new people to the BHE, and it immediately voted tuition to "save" CUNY.

But the state legislature spent two more weeks maneuvering. Finally Carey's plan was approved by big margins Friday night, June 11. The legislators had scheduled a recess beginning the following Monday to kick off their reelection campaigns. All agreed it would be bad form to start stumping with CUNY still twisting in the wind.

The real losers in this political shell game were the students, faculty, and employees of the city university. Open admissions and free tuition, which had made possible attendance by substantial numbers of Blacks and Puerto Ricans, have been ended. Several campuses are expected to be closed permanently. Enrollment will decrease by several tens of thousands of stu-

dents.

But as CUNY students and staff were returning to classes, they met with yet other surprises. The most important one was that CUNY hadn't been "saved" at all—it is *still* short \$15 million for the month!

It's not clear where the \$15 million will come from—possibly next year's budget, already down to \$470 million.

In addition, BHE members have told reporters that tuition may bring in \$15 million less than projected.

The only concession contained in the whole package is a special allocation for Hostos Community College in the South Bronx.

The announced closing of Hostos, the only bilingual college in the Eastern United States, had drawn especially bitter and widespread protests from students and the Puerto Rican community.

Although the language of the bill is vague, top CUNY officials have promised to use the money to keep Hostos open.

UFW-Teamsters negotiations broken off

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES, June 12—César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers, said yesterday that secret negotiations between the UFW and the Teamsters union had been broken off.

The report was published in the *Los Angeles Times*, which had printed the first story about the negotiations on June 11.

According to the *Times*'s original story, the negotiations were arranged by California Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown. Participating were representatives of the growers, Teamsters, Governor Brown, and the UFW.

Stories in other papers implied that progress had been made in the negotiations.

However, Chávez's June 11 statement said the UFW had walked out of the talks because "the Teamsters and the growers were not interested in a good-faith meeting."

"Their purpose," he said, "was to once again hoodwink the public into believing the fight is over."

"We have negotiated three jurisdictional agreements with them [Teamsters] since 1966," Chávez recalled, "and they have broken their word on

each and every one of them. They simply cannot be trusted."

But the pressure that motivated the latest Teamster maneuver remains. This was further indicated when they initiated a week-long "unauthorized" walkout in the Coachella vineyards June 4. Harvesting had just begun in the area.

The demand was that present contracts that stipulate a \$2.70-an-hour base rate be renegotiated to provide a wage increase. Recent contracts signed by the UFW with citrus growers in the Coachella Valley set a base rate of \$3.10 an hour.

From the outset, the Teamster bureaucrats have acted as agents of the agribusiness interests in a determined drive to destroy the UFW.

Yet despite sweetheart contracts, violent strikebreaking, and overwhelming superiority of resources, the Teamster officials and growers have been unable to break the UFW or significantly cut into its support among the mainly Chicano field hands.

The extent of this farm worker allegiance to the UFW was dramatically revealed in the California union



Militant/Howard Petrick

CESAR CHAVEZ: Charges Teamster-grower double cross.

representation elections held in 1975. The UFW consistently outpolled the Teamsters by a two-to-one margin.

The growers then used their political influence to have funds cut off for the

Agricultural Labor Relations Board, the state government body that had conducted the elections.

The UFW responded by placing an initiative on the ballot. The union collected 700,000 signatures—well over the 312,000 minimum required and a record for any California initiative.

If that initiative is approved next November, it will reduce the ability of the legislature to tamper with the functioning of the farm labor law or cut off funding. The UFW initiative would also put more teeth into the law.

In response, the California State Senate adopted a budget June 10 that includes \$6.6 million of renewed funding for the ALRB. Agreement on this, however, will have to be worked out with the state assembly. The assembly had earlier approved a budget that provided no funds for the ALRB.

The necessary senate votes for ALRB money were obtained with the cooperation of grower-controlled legislators. Growers seem to have decided that an ALRB controlled by the state legislature is preferable to the provisions contained in the farm labor initiative placed on the ballot by the UFW.

King Gerald's Redcoats in Philly July 4?

By Andrea Morell, director, 1976 campaign committee

At least one of this year's bicentennial events has provided an opportunity to judge how well capitalist politicians are upholding the democratic rights that rebel colonists fought for 200 years ago.

Late in May, Philadelphia Mayor

Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund

Frank Rizzo asked President Ford to send 15,000 armed federal troops to be on hand for the city's Independence Day celebration. Rizzo justified the request by warning that "radicals" were plotting violence to mar the day's gala festivities.

The "radicals" against whom Rizzo wants to send the Eighty-second Airborne Division are, in fact, peaceful protesters.

The most important demonstration in Philadelphia will demand independence for Puerto Rico. This march for a "Bicentennial Without Colonies" was initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist

party and a coalition of other groups.

President Ford, on the campaign trail in Ohio, was quick to endorse Rizzo's transparent provocation. He said, "If my advisers . . . recommend that it would be in the best interest of security and safety of the public, of course I'll do it."

Is this the same Ford who for two years has stubbornly refused to send troops to protect the "security and safety" of Boston's Black community from violent antibusing mobs and night riders? Has the chief executive suddenly had a bicentennial change of heart?

The explanation is surprisingly simple.

Ford won't send troops to Boston because he is *on the side* of segregationists who are opposed to full equality for Blacks.

On the other hand, he opposes the Puerto Rican people's right to independence, and he is conspiring with Democrat Rizzo to discourage participation in the Philadelphia demonstration.

Unlike Ford and Rizzo, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid stand in the tradition of the workers and farmers

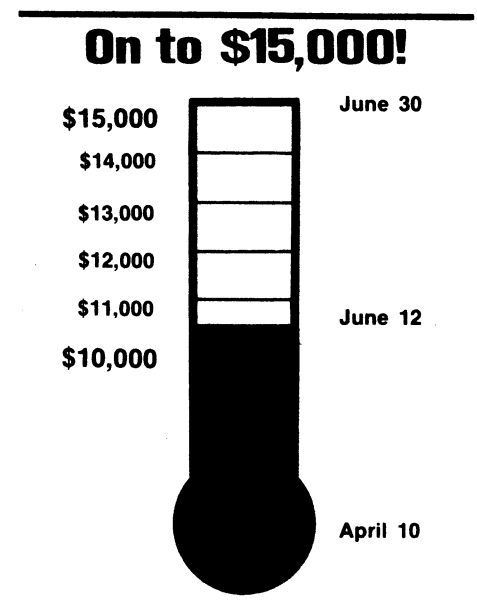
who fought oppression at Lexington and Concord two centuries ago. They have consistently demanded that federal troops be sent to Boston to curb anti-Black violence.

Camejo and Reid are supporting the march for a "Bicentennial Without Colonies." Camejo recently toured

Puerto Rico to express his solidarity with the independence movement.

To help the Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign carry out activities in the months ahead, please contribute generously to the Camejo and Reid 1976 Fund. Last week \$476.00 was received, bringing the current total to \$10,532.

Fill out the coupon below and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____.

Name _____

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A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson, Fred Halstead; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

'We're not guilty,' activists say

El Paso Chicanos battle trumped-up arson c

By Arnold Weissberg

EL PASO, Tex.—On the night of August 6, 1975, a fire bomb exploded in the big Popular Department Store in downtown El Paso.

A few hours later, three Chicanos, driving in a car on the freeway, were arrested for the crime.

The three were held on \$10,000 bail each. A month later, a grand jury indicted them for arson.

Many Chicanos are arrested for crimes they haven't committed. But here there was an added ingredient—they were all activists in the Chicano movement in El Paso.

The three, Ramón Arroyos, Rubén Ogaz, and Alfredo Espinosa, were all members of Chicanos Unidos, a group that had been organized to fight for the interests of El Paso Chicanos. They have become known as Los Tres.

Chicanos Unidos activists had been harassed and threatened by the cops regularly. "The cops told Espinosa they would get him 'one way or another,'" Ramón Arroyos told the *Militant*. "First it was just threats,

then the threats started to become true."

Chicanos Unidos was formed in 1969 by bringing together Chicano youth who had been fighting each other in gangs. Alfredo Espinosa was instrumental in starting the group.

The new organization began to fight for improvements in Ysleta, the largest El Paso barrio. Chicanos Unidos wanted improved recreational facilities and better health care, and they campaigned against drug abuse.

Arroyos got involved with Chicanos Unidos in 1971, working on its drug abuse programs. As a college student, he received course credits for community work. As one of his projects, he established Vamonos Recio Publications, which puts out *El Mestizo*, the monthly newspaper of Chicanos Unidos.

Arroyos did all the printing and layout at first. The paper, which began reporting mostly cultural events, has expanded, he said, and now tries to have a broader perspective while maintaining its emphasis on local movement activities.

He is also the director of production for the Committee for the Development of Mass Communications, a coalition that was organized to expand coverage of Chicanos in the mass media. The committee now produces three weekly TV shows.

The three had been involved in many community struggles, and were outspoken against police brutality. The arson charge was the culmination of a campaign of intimidation, harassment, and phony arrests by the El Paso cops.

Earlier one activist, Ray Elizondo, was framed on a charge of smuggling a gun and silencer into the United States from Mexico.

Then the car of David Morales, another Chicanos Unidos activist, was fire bombed. The cops charged Morales with the crime.

Eduardo De Avila, another movement activist, was also charged with fire bombing a car. De Avila thought he had the charges beat just on eyewitness testimony, and it was generally

agreed not to fight the case as a political one.

But the day before the trial opened, the local paper ran an article tagging De Avila as a "Chicano activist," thus turning the case into a political one.

De Avila was convicted and got a two-year term on probation.

That taught the movement another lesson. "We learned that if you try to keep it quiet, not take a political defense, you get shafted," Arroyos said.

Arroyos said there was no reason why any political person would have made the Popular Department Store a target. The cops' "evidence" consists of a broken beer bottle and a rock. An eyewitness claims to have seen a gray car at the scene. The three were arrested in a blue car.

Nearly a year after the bombing, the cops suddenly "found" bits of *El Mestizo*, which, they claim, was used as a wick for the bomb.

The defense, which is being conducted by two movement attorneys from Austin, Cameron Cunningham and Brady Coleman, challenged the grand jury indictment and the composition of the grand jury.

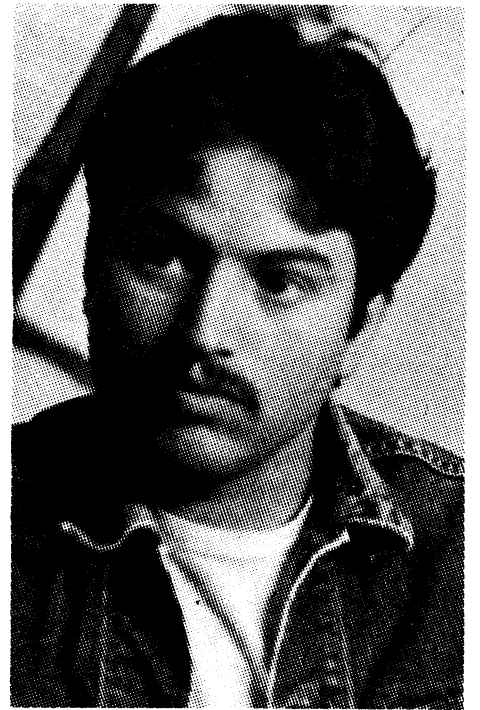
A sociologist at the University of Texas at El Paso concluded, after a study of the makeup of the grand juries over the years, that Chicanos, women, Blacks, poor people, and young people were systematically excluded.

The judge, however, rejected their arguments. He said that he had appointed the commissioners who chose the grand jury, and he knew the commissioners to be fair-minded. Therefore, he concluded, any discrimination that may have occurred was entirely accidental.

The trial is now scheduled to open in September.

If the three are convicted, they face two-to-twenty-year prison sentences. The district attorney has already offered three-year terms in return for a guilty plea. The offer was refused. "We're not guilty," Arroyos said simply.

"We intend to defend ourselves politically," Arroyos declared. "The



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

RAMON ARROYOS: 'First it was just threats, then the threats started to become true.'

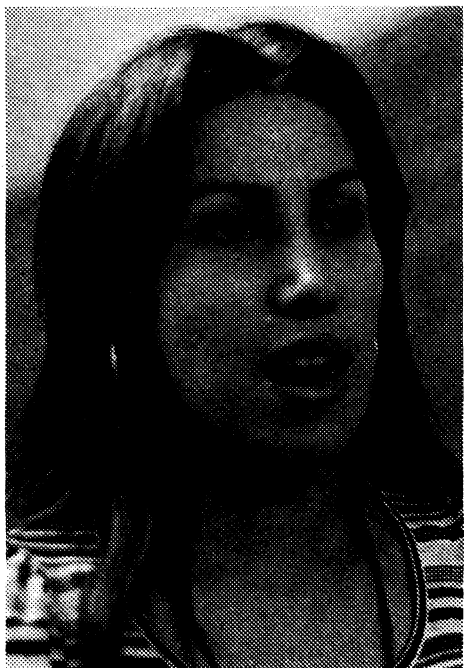
others didn't and went to jail."

La Causa Legal Defense Committee is circulating a petition asking that all the charges be dropped. Arroyos said that anyone who supports their case could circulate the petition. "I think it would make the judge and the district attorney realize that there are a lot of people who support us," he said.

La Causa Legal Defense Committee was formed in 1973 to defend Ray Elizondo, the El Paso activist accused of smuggling a gun from Mexico.

Maria López, the director of the defense committee, told the *Militant* that the committee would defend any El Paso community activists victimized by the cops regardless of their individual political views.

"La Causa Legal Defense Committee is here to stay," López asserted. "Maybe next year it won't be the Chicanos Unidos, it will be somebody else. If we feel someone's been framed, that they've been unjustly accused, we're going to defend them. We began



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

MARIA LOPEZ: 'I was brought up that you have to fight the racists, the gringos, the oppressors.'

Farah workers face new union-busting attac

By Harry Ring

EL PASO, Tex.—The nationwide boycott of Farah slacks cut deep into that company's profits. Finally in February 1974 it forced the company to settle a twenty-two-month strike and sign a contract with the union. Now Farah is out to provoke a new confrontation.

Farah employs more than 6,000 workers with three plants here and a fourth in San Antonio. Most of the workers are Chicanos or *mexicanos* bused across the border from neighboring Juárez.

Long the victims of sweatshop wages and conditions coupled with racist discrimination, the Farah workers won wide admiration for their militancy and determination during the long, hard-fought strike. Now Farah is working systematically to break that militant spirit.

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, to which the workers belong, is having a hard time enforcing the union contract. (This new union name is a result of the recent merger of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers with the Textile Workers Union.)

As part of an obviously well-planned strategy, the company is balking at

settling grievances, forcing normally routine complaints into the time-killing, costly arbitration process.

Workers have been fired on trumped-up charges or for infractions calling for lesser penalties. Among those fired in recent months was the union's chief shop steward.

The problem of piecework production rates—always a hard one in union shops—has been systematically magnified. The company is constantly introducing what it calls "new" operations and changes in production methods to skirt established piecework norms. The union is compelled to maintain two full-time time-study engineers in its efforts to cope with the problem.

Prior to the strike, the company passed over qualified Chicano and *mexicano* workers for supervisory jobs, bringing in Anglo workers for these better-paying positions.

Now some promotions are being given to the workers but in a way carefully calculated to weaken the union. The previously denied promotions are now offered to militant unionists with the obvious intent of buying them off and getting them out of union-building activity.

The overall strategy of the company

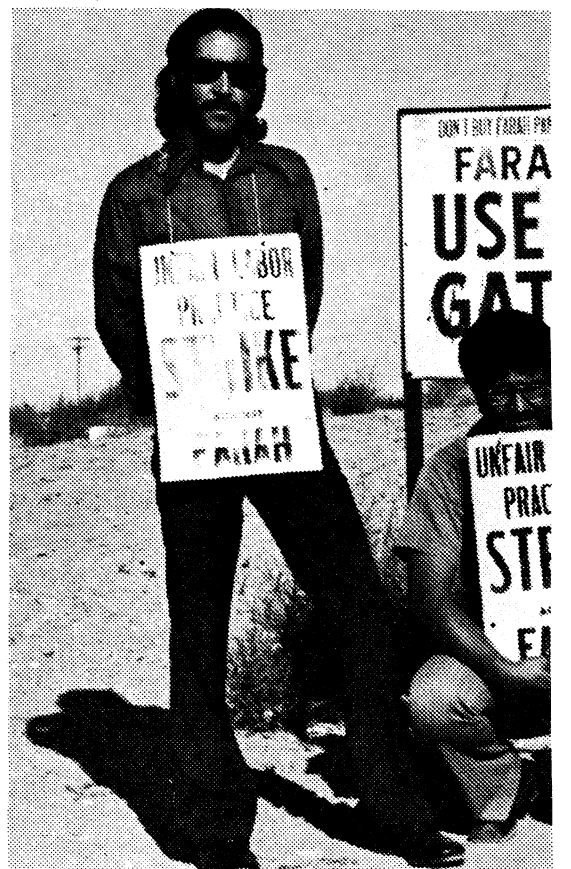
is to kill the spirit of solidarity among the workers and spread demoralization among them.

So far, according to reports, this strategy has not worked and the union still has the allegiance of its members. There is, reportedly, dissatisfaction among some workers with what they see as a lack of militant response by the union.

The international office of the union in New York seems to recognize the importance of Farah's union-busting effort. To wind up with a broken union after the long, successful boycott would certainly encourage other employers around the country and increase the attacks on an already beleaguered union.

The international does seem to be making financial, organizational, and technical resources available to the local union. The size of the local office organizing staff indicates the international is helping to subsidize the cost of the fight against Farah.

The union contract signed in 1974 expires next year. It may well be that the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union will have to start replenishing its stock of promotional material declaring "Don't Buy Farah Products."



Workers at main gate of Farah plant in El Paso use union-busting tactics that could lead to major

argues

because there was a need."

The committee is now focusing all its energies on defending Los Tres.

"The main thing we've accomplished," López said, "was to inform people that this was a frame-up, and it's going to continue to happen, because this is the way they suppress you."

La Causa Legal Defense Committee has also succeeded in winning endorsements for the case and in raising money.

López said that she had been very surprised when the three were arrested and charged with arson. They had been working in the barrio against drug abuse and gang warfare, she explained, and she just couldn't imagine them getting involved in a bombing.

The defense committee conducted a survey in El Paso, polling a cross section of the entire city, and found that among those who were familiar with the work the three arrested had done in the barrio, there was near-universal belief in their innocence.

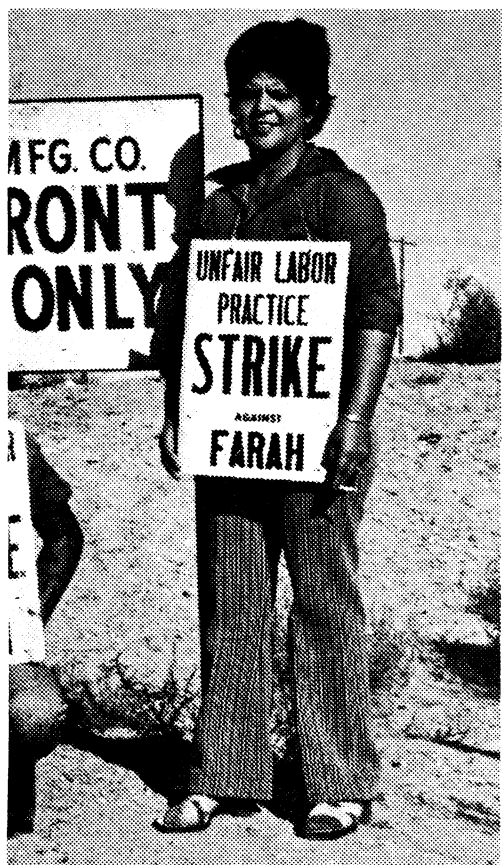
López, a native of Hondo, Texas, was raised as a fighter. She explained that her father had been active in local politics, trying to bring charges to benefit the Chicanos in Hondo. "He's the one who taught us to stand up, to defend ourselves," she said. "I was brought up that you have to fight the racists, the *gringos*, the oppressors."

She and the other activists of La Causa Legal Defense Committee and Chicanos Unidos are totally dedicated to the movement.

"We've sacrificed a lot. Our parents tell us, 'Do something for yourself, get a nice house, a good job, nice clothes,' but we believe in what we're doing. Maybe our cars don't work and maybe we don't have the nicest clothes, but that doesn't matter to us. We believe in what we're doing, and we're going to keep on doing it."

The defense committee is asking all who support Los Tres to circulate petitions demanding their freedom. For a copy of the petition, or for more information about the case, write to La Causa Legal Defense Committee, Box 3537, El Paso, Texas 79923.

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Militant/Nelson Blackstock

uring 1973 strike. Farah is now trying new e when contract expires.

Chi. civil suit bares details of gov't plot to kill Black Panthers

By Charles Jackson and Elizabeth McNulty

CHICAGO—The Hampton-Clark \$48 million civil suit against federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies and officials is now at the end of its fifth month.

The suit charges that government officials conspired in the planning and execution of the December 4, 1969, raid during which cops murdered Black Panther party (BPP) leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The suit also charges officials covered up the truth about the raid after it took place.

So far, only the part of the case concerning the role of agencies of the federal government has been heard before Federal District Judge Joseph Perry. Five former FBI agents have taken the stand. More than 100 previously secret FBI documents have been introduced as evidence. The testimony and evidence show FBI agents played a central role in the murder of the Panther leaders.

Marlin Johnson, former head of the FBI office in Chicago, testified that the Black Panther party was targeted for disruption under Cointelpro, the FBI's disruption program.

Johnson claimed the Panthers became a subject of Cointelpro "due to the violent nature of the organization."

NAACP targeted

However, FBI records produced at the trial tell a different story. These show that a government agent was trailing Hampton full-time as early as 1967. Hampton, then nineteen years old, was the leader of the youth division of an NAACP branch in Maywood, Illinois.

Hampton organized high school students to demand desegregation of public facilities and organized protests against police brutality, which is why the FBI became interested in him.

Later documents show that Hampton continued to be an FBI target after he became a leader of the Panthers, and that all of the BPP's activities were targeted for disruption.

Gang warfare

The FBI went so far as to try to provoke "gang warfare" between the Panthers and the Blackstone Rangers. The FBI sent an anonymous letter to a leader of the Rangers, charging that the Panthers were planning a "hit" on him.

There was a twenty-four-hour-a-day wiretap on the phones of party offices. Partial records of the tap were introduced into evidence despite vigorous protests by government lawyers. These records show the FBI monitored conversations between Hampton and his attorney—a direct violation of attorney-client privilege.

FBI agent Roy Mitchell was in charge of Panther disruption in Chicago. He testified for more than four weeks at the trial.

Mitchell's responsibilities included recruitment of and contact with the FBI's main spy in the Panthers, William O'Neal. For a time O'Neal served as chief of staff for the Black Panther party.

Mitchell's testimony was blatantly contradictory. On one hand, Mitchell denied any knowledge of or participation in the predawn December 4 raid.

Yet, he admitted meeting with Chicago cops just three weeks before the raid and giving them information about the weapons stored in the apartment where Hampton and Clark were assassinated.

'X' marks spot

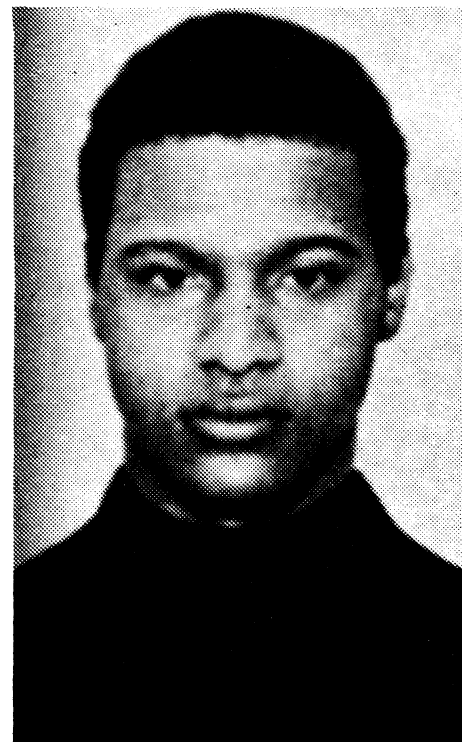
Mitchell also testified that he gave the city cops a floor plan of the apartment, which he had sketched

based on information received from O'Neal.

Mitchell was confronted with a copy of the floor plan while testifying, and shown a large "X" with the note, "Hampton sleeps here." The X was the spot where Hampton was later murdered as he lay sleeping in his bed.

Mitchell admitted on the stand that he put the notation on the floor plan. But he claimed the reason for giving the map to local cops had nothing to do with a plot to murder Hampton.

Another important revelation has undermined the foundations of the government's cover-up. The police have always contended that the raid was justified because there were illegal



Illinois Black Panther leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton, murdered by Chicago cops in 1969. Civil suit brought by relatives, survivors of raid, has exposed FBI's role in assassination conspiracy.

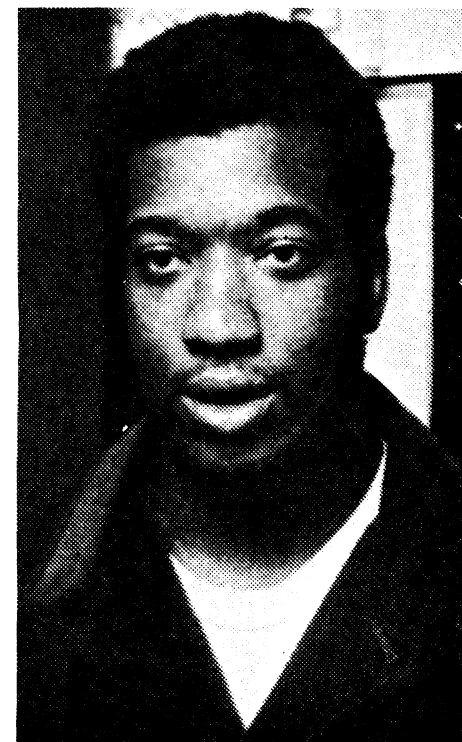
into the trial, Judge Perry ordered the government to turn over all documents outlining FBI counterintelligence programs against the Panthers.

On March 17, FBI agent Roy Mitchell referred on the witness stand to a document that had not been released—a violation of the judge's order to release all documents.

Perry then ordered the FBI to bring to the courthouse complete, uncensored files of all documents pertaining to Hampton, O'Neal, Clark, the survivors of the raid, and the BPP.

Records suppressed

After a one-day search, the government wheeled in four shopping carts



weapons in the apartment. Yet three separate memos submitted as evidence show the FBI knew the weapons were obtained legally and that this information had been given to local police before they carried out the raid.

The last such memo was dated December 3, 1969, a few hours before the murderous raid. In that memo Special Agent in Charge Marlin Johnson confirmed previous communications to J. Edgar Hoover stating that the weapons had been purchased legally, and added: "This information has been furnished to local law enforcement officials. Officials of the Chicago Police Department have advised that the department is currently planning a positive course of action relative to this information."

The "positive course of action" has now become clear: The FBI and Chicago police, knowing the weapons were legally purchased, nevertheless conducted a predawn raid on the pretext of seizing "illegal weapons."

Blood money

The FBI's chief informer, William O'Neal, was given a \$300 reward for his role in setting up the raid.

Trial observers were shocked and disgusted when a December 17, 1969, memo from J. Edgar Hoover authorizing the payment was read. Hoover praised O'Neal "for uniquely valuable services which he has rendered over the past several months."

The lawyers representing the seven survivors of the raid and the families of Hampton and Clark are succeeding in unraveling the FBI plot despite continuing attempted cover-ups by the FBI and roadblocks put in their way by the judge.

Earlier, on January 27, three weeks

loaded with 131 volumes totaling 14,000 documents—more than 90 percent of which had been withheld from the Hampton-Clark attorneys.

In a hearing, it was revealed that one of the chief FBI *defendants*, agent Robert Piper, was in charge of editing the documents and releasing them for the trial. According to the testimony of another FBI agent, Piper was responsible for the 14,000-page gap.

Despite the transparent character of the continuing cover-up, Judge Perry has almost without exception rubber-stamped the FBI's decisions on deletions and relevancy of documents.

Because documents were withheld in a cover-up by federal defendants, the Hampton-Clark lawyers have asked that Judge Perry find the defendants and their lawyers in contempt and declare a mistrial.

Perry says he has taken the motions under "advisement" and may rule on them at the end of the trial.

FBI Plot Against the Black Movement

Secret Documents Exposed

By Baxter Smith. With reprinted FBI memos. 24 pp., 35 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—On the evening of November 13, 1974, Karen Silkwood was killed when her car crashed in Crescent, Oklahoma.

Silkwood, a nuclear laboratory technician in the nearby Kerr-McGee plutonium plant, had been en route to a meeting with a *New York Times* reporter and an international representative of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW).

She was bringing with her an envelope containing material documenting dangerous safety and health conditions at the plant, as well as company-instigated fraud. The envelope mysteriously disappeared from the site of the accident.

Suspecting foul play, the OCAW hired an independent investigator, who concluded that her car had been hit from behind. But officials at all levels of government, after perfunctory investigations, dismissed her death as a "closed case."

The OCAW refused to drop the demand for a thorough federal inquiry into the incident and the events preceding it. The union was joined by the National Organization for Women, Silkwood's parents, and other supporters. A year and a half later, largely through the efforts of NOW, the House of Representatives has opened an official investigation into the Silkwood case.

The story pieced together thus far hints at more than a case of Kerr-McGee getting tough with a union militant. Or of government complicity in the subsequent cover-up. The Silkwood case offers a glimpse of the determination of the big-money interests behind the nuclear industry to operate and expand as cheaply and rapidly as possible.

This effort has the total support of the government—from the regulatory agencies that ignore safety violations to the FBI, which apparently views opponents of an unfettered nuclear industry on a par with other dissident movements that it has tried to discredit and disrupt.

Deadly substance

The Kerr-McGee Cimarron plant in Crescent produced plutonium fuel rods for government use. Its contract expired this year and the plant closed.

Plutonium is one of the most deadly substances known to science. It is so powerful that a small quantity can be used to fashion an atom bomb. But more germane to those who work with it every day, contamination by minute amounts can cause cancer.

It remains toxic for 250,000 years.

But government agencies responsible for watching over its production have consistently winked at safety violations while giving the green light to new nuclear endeavors.

Between 1970 and 1974, the Kerr-McGee Cimarron plant reported—as required by federal law—twenty-three accidental plutonium exposures involving eighty-nine workers. During that same period, federal inspectors cited the plant for seventy plutonium violations.

Testifying April 26 before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Small Business, Dr. Karl Morgan said he had "never known an operation in this industry so poorly operated" as that at the Cimarron plant. Morgan is one of the country's leading experts on the dangers of radiation, as well as a staunch defender of nuclear power.

Morgan told the committee that Kerr-McGee appeared to have shown "little concern" about the long-term cancer risks of plutonium.

Silkwood's record

Karen Silkwood started working at Kerr-McGee during the summer of 1972. In April 1974 she was elected to one of three seats on the Local 5-283 steering committee. It was in her role as an elected union representative that she compiled documentation of company safety and health violations. In September, Silkwood and other members of the union took their evidence to Washington and presented it to the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC).

These charges gathered dust at the commission offices until after her death. Only then did the AEC investigate and substantiate twenty of the thirty-nine allegations.

At the time of her death Silkwood was in the process of gathering more material, this time on deliberate violations of federal standards in the fuel-rod production.

On November 5, eight days before she was killed, Silkwood discovered she had been exposed to the deadly plutonium when she monitored herself upon leaving the plant. Despite decontamination proceedings and a check of her work area for plutonium leaks, she was found to be radioactive for the next two days.

Who killed Karen Silkwood?



In the months since Karen Silkwood was killed on the evening of November 13, 1974, the mystery surrounding her death has continued to grow. Now congressional hearings into the incident have produced a strange link between the FBI and the death of the young union militant at a plant that produced fuel for the nuclear power industry.

Finally a crew checked her apartment and found the source of contamination. The entire contents of the apartment had to be destroyed immediately.

No investigative body has ever explained how the deadly substance got into her apartment. Kerr-McGee offered their conclusion that she had contaminated herself with the highly carcinogenic substance to embarrass the company!

On the night she was killed, Silkwood was seen leaving a union meeting with a manila folder that contained documentation for the union representative and reporter. While some notebooks and other materials from the car were returned to friends the next day, the manila folder was never "found."

The car wreck was discovered by Kerr-McGee employees. Company officials were among the first to arrive at the scene. The police dispatched a wrecker, but five and a half miles out of town he was radioed that another wrecker would take his place.

"I was closer to the accident than anyone else," he later said. "It just didn't make any sense to turn me around when there was a report that someone was pinned in a car."

The cops asserted that it was an accident, caused by Silkwood falling asleep at the wheel. They claimed the fresh dents on the car were caused by the wrecker that towed it after the crash.

The cops also ignored the fact that the tire tracks

did not mesh with the "dozing-off" theory.

Less than twenty-four hours after an OCAW investigator inspected the scene, the stretch of highway was repaved on one side. This eliminated any further examination of evidence about which side of the road a car would naturally have run off without an impact from behind.

NOW presses inquiry

Unsatisfied by an FBI investigation of Silkwood's death and a General Accounting Office report requested by the Senate, NOW pressed for congressional hearings.

Sen. Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.), head of the Reports, Accounting and Management Subcommittee, yielded to the mounting pressure to look into the case.

But before the hearings got under way, Dean McGee, president of the Kerr-McGee Corporation, paid a visit to Senator Metcalf. The Senate promptly withdrew from the joint investigation in early April.

Metcalf explained that since initiating the hearings he had talked with OCAW President Al Grospiron and had been told that the union was satisfied with previous Oklahoma and federal investigations.

Grospiron then released a statement saying, "I categorically state at no time did I speak to Senator Metcalf about calling off any investigation."

The House Subcommittee on Energy and Environment went ahead with the public hearings on April 26. Testifying were Dr. Morgan; Sara Nelson, NOW Labor Task Force coordinator; and Kitty Tucker, president of the Supporters of Silkwood.

Also appearing before the committee was Jacque Srouji, at that time a copy editor at the *Nashville Tennessean*. Srouji is the author of an unpublished book on nuclear energy, a chapter of which deals with the Silkwood case.

'Ton of material'

Srouji testified that she had seen "a ton of material" prepared by the FBI on Silkwood's death. She said that FBI files backed up her contention that Silkwood contaminated herself or that it had been done by another worker or the union itself.

This was of some interest to the House members since the FBI had denied the committee access to its Silkwood files.

Srouji's appearance—an obvious attempt to discredit Silkwood and any others who would question the nuclear industry—opened quite a new can of worms.

In closed session, the committee questioned Oklahoma City FBI agent Lawrence Olson, who headed the Silkwood investigation. He would say only that Srouji had a "special relationship" with the bureau. Olson had been assigned to the Nashville field office before his transfer to Oklahoma.

Srouji later admitted that her contact with the FBI began back in the 1960s when she doubled as an informer while reporting on civil rights events.

On May 20, FBI official James Adams appeared before the House committee to answer questions about the Srouji connection. Adams refused to comment on virtually every question put to him by the committee, using the excuse that the whole matter is under investigation.

However, he did contend that *as far as he knew* the FBI did not influence Srouji's appearance before the committee. Nor did the FBI *authorize* any assistance in the preparation of her book on nuclear energy.

He refused to rule out the possibility that FBI agents unofficially or without authorization may have done any of those things.

"The FBI does not conduct investigations based solely on an individual's opposition to the use or expansion of nuclear energy," Adams told the committee.

Yet he defended the bureau's right to spy on the movement for safe nuclear power if individuals or groups participating in it are part of any other FBI "investigation."

The mystery surrounding Srouji has diverted attention from the Silkwood inquiry. But they're not unrelated stories.

It's not hard to see how an FBI informer-reporter who decided to write a book defending the nuclear industry and attacking Silkwood and her union may have been encouraged—if not put up to it—by the FBI.

By the same token it makes sense that a major nuclear corporation, pestered by a union militant intent on exposing highly profitable, illegal practices, may have decided to arrange an "accident."

The American people deserve to know the truth. All FBI and other government files, as well as those of Kerr-McGee, should be opened to the public.

By Claire Moriarty

“They wanted a purpose and that was to free women from the hum-drum existence of being only a wife and mother. They wanted equal opportunities that men have in work and in society. They wanted their husbands to share in the housework and in rearing their children. They also wanted to go out and work in whatever kind of jobs they wanted and not be discriminated against as women.”

Did the memo blow the cover on a conspiracy? Did it foil a criminal plot? No. It described the editorial content of *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, a magazine read in 1970 by 20,000 women. Taxpayers' dollars underwrote the cost of this FBI investigation. Its findings: Women want equal rights.

Janet Gallagher opened the discussion, citing government attempts to create distrust within the movement as the most serious threat. Grand juries are designed, she said, as fishing expeditions to harass and intimidate movement activists. The proceedings are secret, and individuals are threatened with indefinite jail terms for refusal to cooperate.

May 1 issue of 'Majority Report,' a New York-based feminist newspaper, exemplifies the growing concern for need to expose and counter FBI harassment of women's liberation movement.

Ruthann Miller agreed that the FBI tries to sow "‘agent paranoia.’ In such instances so much time and energy can be spent looking for agents that

Borman went on to say, "If the women's movement can keep an awareness of the issues . . . and spend most of our time working on the issues and not fighting, then that means we're agent-proof."

One thing the FBI reports fail to indicate is evidence of illegal, conspiratorial activity. There is a reason for that, said Jo Freeman. "If there's anything NOW doesn't do, it's try to be secret. In fact, we'd like people to know

Borman said, "I'd like to hear from anybody interested in a giant women's liberation movement lawsuit against the FBI and CIA." She pointed out that very little documentation has so far come to light on spying on the women's movement. However, files mentioning NOW, Kansas City Women's Liberation Movement, and Baltimore feminists indicate an extensive FBI campaign.

"The best way to answer government attacks is to build a strong, united women's movement," said Miller. "The greatest fear the FBI had in 1969-70 was that the ideas of the women's movement would spread to millions of women in this country. And in spite of all their attempts, *that's exactly what happened.*"

Women in the audience agreed. Their meeting itself was an answer to government harassment, a public rejection of FBI scare tactics, and an expression of solidarity in the women's movement. As one panelist put it, "There's no way the FBI or anyone else can stop us!"

By Pat Galligan

The spring was a time of growth and expansion for the socialist movement. And setting up new SWP branches added pounding nails and painting in new headquarters to the already long list of tasks in a number of cities.

Although the scope of the spring drive was modest, some of its accomplishments are more significant than numbers alone indicate. Here are a few highlights.

One fact amply demonstrated throughout the spring is that the *Militant* is an activist's newspaper. For example, forty-four feminists signed up at the eastern regional conference of the National Organization for Women. Fifty subscriptions were sold at pro-Equal Rights Amendment activities on May 16. Fifty-three

Chris Rayson from Cleveland sold subscriptions to twelve people where he works at Ohio Bell Telephone. One Newark Teamster signed up ten drivers from his local during the spring. Twenty-five members of the Boilermakers union at a St. Louis-area steel fabricating plant are now *Militant* readers thanks to the efforts of supporters on the job.

Socialists in several areas sold part of their goal in surrounding cities. Teams from Philadelphia visited both Chester, Pennsylvania, and Wilmington, Delaware.

At least 20 percent of all these new subscribers are students who met the *Militant* through the efforts of the traveling YSA teams or members of YSA campus chapters. The *Militant* played a role in involving students in antiracist and anticutback struggles as well as winning new members to the YSA.

The most important aspect of the drive was probably the door-to-door canvassing. Sub sellers campaigning for socialist candidates while circulating the *Militant* found many new readers among Blacks, Puerto Ricans,

Socialists in New Orleans, Houston, Oakland, Pasadena, Atlanta, and Denver, to name a few cities, will tell you that this door-to-door work has helped build support for the socialist candidates and has been an invaluable aid in establishing branches of the SWP in their communities.

Members of the former Downtown Brooklyn branch of the SWP sold most of their seventy-eight subscriptions in housing projects in the Williamsburg section of the borough. Receptivity to

	Goal	Sent in	%				
City				Los Angeles	350	304	87
Chico, Calif.	5	13	260	Cleveland	175	151	86
Louisville	15	23	153	Seattle	175	149	85
Logan, Utah	15	21	140	San Diego	150	125	83
Dallas	25	32	128	Newark	100	82	82
San Antonio	30	34	113	Washington, D.C., Area	220	178	81
Lexington, Ky.	15	17	113	Pittsburgh	180	146	81
Madison, Wis.	30	33	110	Ann Arbor, Mich.	10	8	80
St. Paul	45	49	109	New York City	500	395	79
New Orleans	100	108	108	St. Louis	125	99	79
Oakland, Calif.	100	107	107	Albany, N.Y.	10	7	70
Minneapolis	180	187	104	Champaign, Ill.	10	7	70
Baltimore	90	94	104	Toledo	10	7	70
Milwaukee	150	154	103	Boston	250	171	68
Houston	300	304	101	Bloomington, Ind.	50	30	60
Berkeley, Calif.	125	126	101	Detroit	200	105	53
Atlanta	225	225	100	Kansas City, Mo.	10	5	50
Philadelphia	200	200	100	East Lansing, Mich.	10	4	40
Portland, Ore.	100	100	100	Chicago	275	53	19
Richmond, Va.	30	30	100	San Francisco	225	42	19
Cincinnati	25	25	100	General		339	
Miami	10	10	100	YSA teams	1,900	708	37
Denver	150	141	94	Total sold		5,240	
San Jose	80	70	88	Goal		5,500	
Indianapolis	25	22	88	Percent of goal		95	

Peking's policy of peaceful coexistence



Remains of Indonesian Communist party headquarters, Jakarta, 1965. Indonesian massacre resulted from Peking's policy of peaceful coexistence.

By Dick Roberts

(Fourth of a series)

In recent speeches around the country *Guardian* executive editor Irwin Silber has declared that "no genuine communist is—or can be—opposed to peaceful coexistence. But to make this the cornerstone of revolutionary struggle, rather than only one aspect of it, is bound to come into contradiction sooner or later with the revolutionary struggles of oppressed peoples and nations."

Silber touches the heart of the dispute around China's foreign policy—the concept of "peaceful coexistence." This is the theory, held by both Moscow and Peking, that these governments should pursue a foreign policy based on promoting stable long-term relations between capitalist countries and workers states—the two opposing world economic systems.

It is based on the idea that the imperialist powers will allow workers states to exist in peace and to develop socialism in return for following a policy of not promoting revolution in other countries.

Such a view was not held by Lenin. Lenin said that the development of the Soviet Union "is possible *only* along the road of international socialist revolution that we have entered."

"The Russian proletariat," said Lenin, "cannot by its own forces *victoriously complete* the socialist revolution. But it can give the Russian revolution dimensions such as will create the most favorable conditions for it, such as will in a certain sense *begin* it. It can facilitate matters for the entrance into a decisive battle on the part of its *main* and most reliable ally, the *European* and American socialist proletariat."

But Moscow and Peking do not make the socialist advance of the world proletariat the main axis of their foreign policies. They demand that workers abroad act as a pressure lobby on their own capitalist class to promote the "peaceful coexistence" policies advocated by Moscow or Peking.

They have completely broken from Lenin's international revolutionary strategy.

Further, this peaceful-coexistence line is not merely "one aspect" of Peking's foreign policy. It is the central axis.

Japan too weak?

William Hinton, chairman of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, made this clear in his inter-

view published in the May 5 *Guardian*. In the name of peaceful coexistence, Peking now calls for a bloc between China and the capitalist nations of Europe, Japan, and the United States against the Soviet workers state. It justifies this by proclaiming that the Soviet Union has become an "imperialist" country and is now the "main danger" on a world scale.

Hinton said in the case of Japan, for example, that "the reality of the situation for Japan is that, as of now, its own armed forces are very weak. As long as that is so, it is necessary to maintain a military alliance with the United States."

Consequently, the Japanese workers should support capitalist Tokyo in an alliance with the forces of U.S. imperialism, which dropped atomic bombs on Japan. Moreover, implicitly, this support includes a possible U.S.-Japanese military attack against the Soviet Union.

On June 1, to illustrate, Peking's news agency Hsinhua carried a favorable report on a leaflet that had been issued in Japan. According to Hsinhua, the leaflet "says that the Soviet Union illegally occupies Japan's northern territories and has established big military bases there. . . . The struggle for the recovery of the northern territories is one for Japan's full independence and maintaining the nation's sovereignty," Hsinhua records.

Schlesinger over Kissinger?

William Hinton also said that Peking prefers "Schlesinger to Kissinger." James Schlesinger is the former secretary of war who is currently advising presidential aspirant Ronald Reagan on military policies.

An advocate of increased U.S. military spending, Schlesinger wrote in *Fortune* magazine in February, "A specter is haunting Europe. . . . the specter of Soviet hegemony. That specter arises from the steady expansion of the military power of the Soviet state. But it remains contingent upon the faltering of American purpose. . . ."

Schlesinger's words are the time-worn rhetoric of anticommunism. They could just as well have been uttered by Joseph McCarthy and used to justify not only increased war spending, but also witch-hunts against workers and radicals.

Followers of Peking ought to ask themselves: how can revolutionary-minded workers in this country be won over to socialism if they think that

support to Schlesinger is what socialists stand for?

They should also ask themselves: does it really make sense, from the standpoint of defending China against imperialism, to strengthen the position of the warmakers in Washington? What a terrible illusion it is to believe that Schlesinger and his ilk have anything in mind other than the destruction of both the Soviet and Chinese workers states!

U.S. imperialism has only postponed, not abandoned, its goal of restoring China and the Soviet Union to the "free world" of capitalist exploitation. The U.S. ruling class would bomb China to rubble just as they did Vietnam—if they thought they could get away with it.

To protect China against this danger, it is necessary to do the same thing we did when Washington attacked Vietnam: organize a mass movement *against* the warmakers.

Soviet workers

Peking has reason to be concerned about Moscow's anti-Chinese propaganda and the tens of thousands of Soviet troops that line China's border with the USSR. But only the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union itself can restore socialist democracy in the USSR and end the counterrevolutionary policies of the national-minded, self-serving bureaucracy that rules the Kremlin.

Instead of appealing to the Soviet masses in the name of proletarian internationalism, Peking follows the dangerous course of appealing to the imperialists in the name of opposing "Soviet hegemonism."

Semicolonial countries

For a time in the early 1960s Peking cloaked its peaceful-coexistence policies in the semicolonial countries with anti-imperialist rhetoric. But Peking's policies since the late 1960s have stripped this veneer away. This is the central concern of those who, like the *Guardian*, are currently breaking with Peking's foreign-policy line.

How can revolutionaries support Peking's hands-off attitude toward the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile? Its red-carpet treatment of the blood-soaked Pahlavi dynasty in Iran? Its policy on Puerto Rico, which directs the main fire against Moscow instead of U.S. imperialism? Or its line on Angola, which would have handed the liberation fighters over to the U.S.-backed invaders from South Africa?

These policies are patently indefensible. But they are not fundamentally different from the course Peking followed in previous years.

A favorite of Peking in the ultraleft period of the early 1960s was the "radical" Indonesian President Sukarno. Peking (and Moscow) fostered the confidence of the Indonesian Communist party—the largest CP in the capitalist world at the time—in Sukarno.

But Sukarno led the Indonesian masses into the disastrous 1965 military coup, which shattered the Communist party and left hundreds of thousands of workers and radicals massacred.

The basic error Peking made in Indonesia is not different from its error in Chile and elsewhere: it is *subordinating the interests of the masses* to diplomatic arrangements with the ruling regimes. If Peking had warned the Indonesian Communist party not to trust Sukarno, if the workers had been urged to make their own preparations against the likelihood of a rightist coup, the results would have been far different.

Indonesia also illustrates another aspect of the fallacy of "peaceful coexistence." This is that *the class struggle continues* whatever the temporary deals worked out between international powers. In Indonesia Mao's pro-Sukarno propaganda did not stop the militarist butchers and the CIA from secretly plotting to attack the workers movement at the earliest opportunity.

United States

Class forces beyond Peking's control are also influencing the circles in the U.S. today that have previously given uncritical support to Peking. These forces recognize that Peking's orientation toward U.S. imperialism is entirely at odds with the needs of American workers.

Here we must build a movement to take the warmaking power out of the hands of the ruling rich once and for all. To do so requires breaking the two-party capitalist stranglehold on American politics.

Isn't it the most elementary duty of Marxists to encourage independent organization of the working class and to teach workers to place no political confidence in their own bourgeoisies?

Moscow's and Peking's policies of "peaceful coexistence" cut across this. That is why they are being questioned around the globe today.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

JUNE 25, 1976

Testimony of Mary Tyler

India--the view from Gandhi's jails

By Ernest Harsch

Since the state of emergency was declared in India in June 1975, the Gandhi regime's violation of human rights has taken on massive proportions. Tens of thousands of her political opponents have been thrown into jail, elected state governments have been deposed, the press has been muzzled, and strikes have been forbidden.

But repression in Asia's "showcase of democracy" was common even before Gandhi's coup, according to the testimony of Mary Tyler, a British teacher who was imprisoned in India for more than five years.

Tyler described her experiences in Gandhi's jails at a May 22 forum cosponsored by the Indian People's Association of North America (IPANA), Indians for Democracy, and Amnesty International. The meeting, held at New York University, was part of a speaking tour of Canada and the United States organized for Tyler by IPANA.

Tyler was arrested in May 1970 in Bihar state and was accused of being a

"Naxalite," a term often used to describe members and sympathizers of the Maoist Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

"The police there found my presence suspicious," she said, "because I was obviously interested in the conditions of the peasants. And they arrested me. In the normal kind of affair, I would have been arrested, interrogated, and released or told to leave the country. As I was married to an Indian citizen, things didn't go quite so quickly."

Widespread repression

Like most Indian citizens detained under similar circumstances, she was not charged or brought before a court for three years. As a result of pressure on the Gandhi regime by friends and relatives in Britain, however, she was finally charged with "conspiring" against the government. After five years in prison, her trial began. All charges against her were then abruptly withdrawn on the seventh day of the trial. She was released on July 6, 1975, a little more than a week after Gandhi staged her dictatorial coup.

Tyler gave just a few examples of the widespread political repression in India before the state of emergency. In September 1972, she said, about 3,000 striking teachers were brought to the jail in Bihar where she was being held. In 1974, about 50,000 striking railway workers were reportedly arrested, many lost their jobs, and their families were harassed.

A seventeen-year-old woman coal mine worker, who was taken to Hazaribagh jail in Bihar, explained to Tyler the circumstances of her arrest. She said the women workers, who carry coal to the surface of the mine on their heads, had earned only 4 rupees (about US\$0.35) a day and had no security. Since the trade union was controlled by Gandhi's Congress party, the workers formed their own independent union and went on strike, winning a 1 rupee raise. But shortly after the strike, a group of Congress party thugs attacked the workers. The police arrived and arrested seven of the coal miners.

Bihar was the center of the mass movement led by Jaya Prakash Narayan against corruption, unemployment, and high prices. Between March and November 1974, Tyler said, more than 6,000 participants in that struggle were brought to Hazaribagh.

"These kinds of brutalities against



Naxalite prisoners in Calcutta. Repression in Asia's 'showcase of democracy' was common even before Gandhi's June 1975 declaration of state of emergency.

people who are agitating for food," she said, "is something which has been going on for years and years."

Police

The level of the repression in India was reflected in the size of Gandhi's police apparatus:

The paramilitary forces in India are something to be wondered at. There is not one paramilitary force; there is not just the army and the police. There is the Central Reserve Police, the Railway Protection Force, the Central Industrial Security Force, the Coal Mines Protection Force, and the armed constabularies in each of the states. There is the military police in each state, apart from the army and the ordinary police. The Central Reserve Police alone, I think, has increased its battalions in the past ten years from sixteen to sixty. They are deployed all over the country to put down any kind of unrest by the most brutal possible methods.

Many of those who were arrested at the same time she was, or even before, are still being held without trial. Many were sixteen or seventeen years old when they were arrested and suffer from chronic anemia from the poor diet.

Disease is very widespread. In Jamshedpur, the last jail where I was held, almost without exception every prisoner had scabies. . . . But that was not all. There was typhoid, leprosy, tuberculosis, dysentery naturally, and smallpox the year before. . . . All people suffering from all types of diseases were kept together in that jail. It was built for 137, but there were 1,100 prisoners there at the time I left.

Although reports of particularly brutal torture of political prisoners have come out of other prisons, such as Presidency Jail in Calcutta, Tyler said she knew of no torture inside the prisons where she was held. Beating of prisoners, however, was standard. "It is used against everybody who is arrested and there is no bar on the police at all."

She knew of one young peasant woman, accused of being a "Naxalite," who was beaten unconscious at the police station, brought to the prison, where she recovered somewhat after a few days, and then taken back to the police station to be beaten again. "Another person alleged to be a Naxalite, I was told by a member of the jail staff, had been brought to jail having been dipped by the police bodily into a pot of boiling water."

Most of the alleged "Naxalite" prisoners, Tyler said, were kept in iron shackles, day and night, for years. The shackles, which are very heavy and cumbersome, made it impossible for the prisoner to walk, sit, or sleep properly. After a while, their legs become misshapen and atrophied.

When asked during the question period if international protests to the Indian authorities helped the prisoners, Tyler replied that they did. She cited her own case, in which international pressures led to her being brought to trial and made it possible for her to receive more letters and visitors. The Gandhi regime, she noted, still did not like to admit that it was violating basic democratic rights.

Torture, brutality are 'official policy'

The International League for Human Rights charged June 1 that the Indian regime followed an "official policy" of "torture, brutality, starvation and other mistreatment of prisoners."

In a seventy-three-page document calling on the United Nations to investigate violations of democratic rights in India, the league submitted names of hundreds of political prisoners said to have been tortured by the Gandhi regime.

The forms of torture cited in the report include beatings with steel rods and rifle butts, use of electric shocks, burning with candles, and tying rods to prisoners' necks in order to strain the spinal cords.

One form of torture is known as the "aeroplane," in which "the victim's hands are tied behind his back with a rope. The rope is taken over the pulley at the roof and the victim is pulled up a few feet above the ground."

Portuguese elections: Carvalho rides again

By Gerry Foley

Since May 27, the final date for registering candidates, the main lines of the Portuguese presidential campaign have become fairly clear.

All the parties that claim to represent the working class, except the Trotskyists, continue to support a class-collaborationist alliance with the military, or sections of it. Within the framework of this policy, tactical shifts have occurred. But the general picture has not changed, except that the opportunism of the reformist and centrist parties has become more open and abject.

Along with the main bourgeois parties, the Socialist party leadership is backing the candidate of "law and order," Gen. António Ramalho Eanes.

The Communist party is running a formally independent campaign while giving backhanded support to Eanes.

The Maoist groupings that follow the Peking line closely are supporting the general as the "anti-social fascist" candidate.

A new element in this picture is the seemingly indestructible demagogue, the former general, Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. He is supported by three of the groups that were in or around the Frente de Unidade Revolucionária (FUR—Front for Revolutionary Unity) before November 25.

All three groups backing Carvalho got around 3% of the vote in the April 25 legislative elections this year. However, as a leading figure in the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement), the former commander of the military security forces is well known nationally. The illusion among radicalized petty-bourgeoisie and youth that the MFA would establish socialism tended to focus on this gregarious and voluble young military commander. Pictures of him in a black-leather jacket or in shirt-sleeves were sold on the street

along with portraits of Mao, Lenin, Stalin, and Fidel Castro.

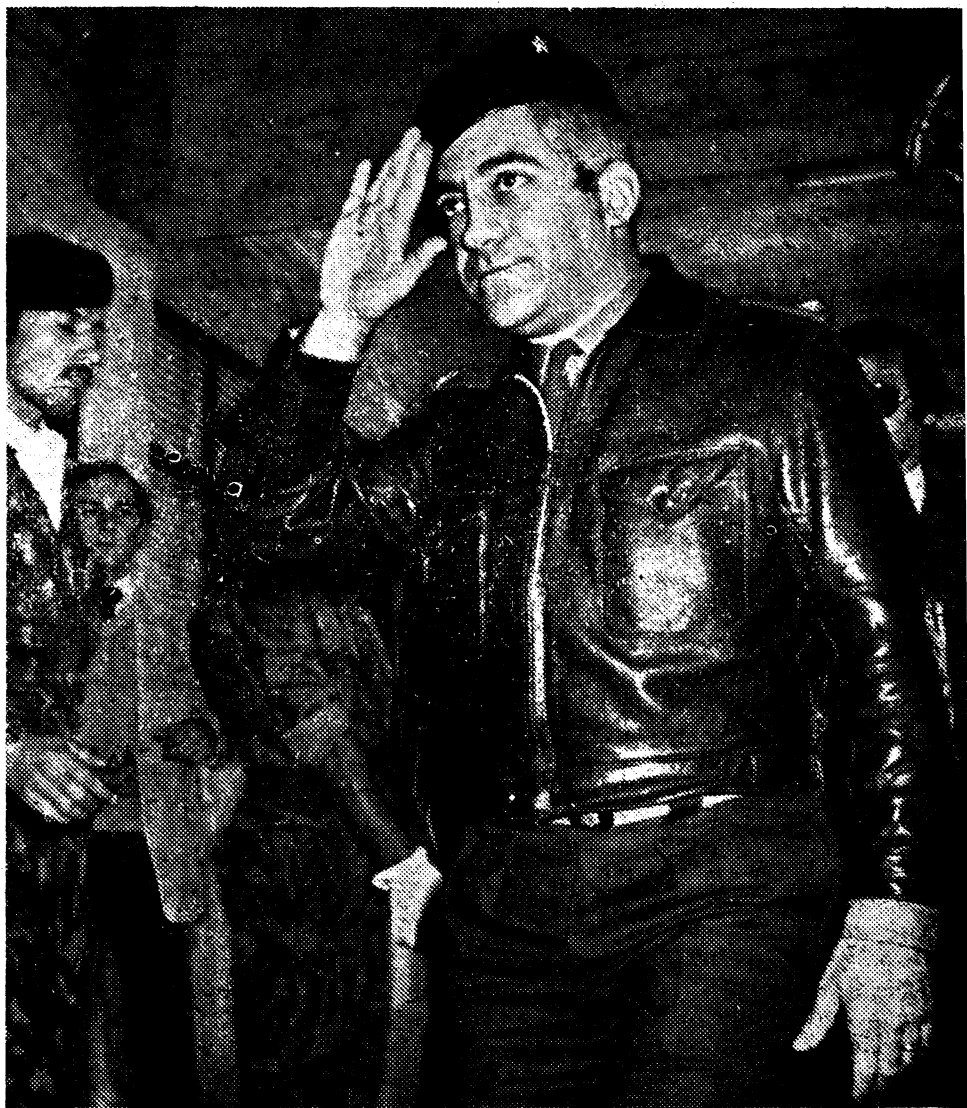
Carvalho's military security command played its most important role in the period when the mass upsurge was too powerful for the bourgeois state to control by repression. He brought the most radicalized units under his command and manipulated them, using them in an attempt to build up a private political machine with direct ties to sections of the masses. The military security forces were supposed to be on the side of the people.

In July when Carvalho pushed the plan for "People's Power" under MFA guidance as an alternative to "bourgeois parliamentarianism," young ultraleftists and centrists demonstrating for the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly got free rides on the tanks of the military security forces.

At every critical turn in the revolutionary process opened up by the fall of the Caetano regime, Carvalho has sought to lead his admirers on the left into a trap, most often with success. At the time of General Spínola's attempted coup d'état on September 28, 1974, Carvalho played a completely passive role toward his hierarchical superior.

At the same time, he objected to the popular mobilizations, claiming that they usurped the functions of the armed forces, although they saved his skin as well as blocking the rightist move.

In the April 25, 1975, Constituent Assembly elections, Carvalho tried to encourage casting blank ballots, an action that would have given the MFA an unlimited mandate to run the country. When the hoped-for blank vote failed to materialize, Carvalho encouraged schemes for a "direct" link between the military and the masses. He was the strongest supporter of the "People's Power" plan adopted by the Council of the Revolution on July 8. His command backed a take-over of the SP daily *República* by printing



At every critical turn in the revolutionary process, Carvalho has sought to lead his admirers on the left into a trap.

workers led by Stalinists and their allies.

Following the April 1975 elections, in which the SP won a plurality, a bitter split developed in the workers movement. The CP and its ultraleft and centrist allies, who hoped to gain from "People's Power," lined up against the majority of the working people who followed the SP.

In the first stage of this conflict, Carvalho played a most provocative role. The split opened with the *República* occupation, which he encouraged from behind the scenes. In early August, he made threats about herding all "counterrevolutionists" into the Lisbon bullring, threats that in the context of the conflict that had opened up seemed to be aimed against the SP. At the same time, he intervened to save the right-wing commander of the Amadora Commandos from being purged by a soldiers committee. This unit later became the backbone of the government's repressive operations against radicalized soldiers and the most militant sections of the workers movement.

Although Carvalho had been the most outspoken supporter of "People's Power" in the MFA leadership, once a faction of the military came out against the implied alliance with the CP, the hero of the ultraleftists and centrists changed sides. He tried to make a deal with the Group of the Nine, the military faction that exploited the split over the "People's Power" project by opening a campaign to bring the mass movement back within the bounds of "law and order."

The deal would have preserved the demagoguery of "People's Power" but put it at the service of the stronger faction in the MFA, which had decided that the time was ripe to dump the alliance with the CP. Carvalho was unable to get his followers to accept this maneuver. However, the proposed deal was no aberration of a pure-hearted but naïve soldier of Portuguese national liberation, as his political admirers and apologists claimed. The "Portuguese Fidel Castro" has continued to

present this scheme as his program.

Even Carvalho's most enthusiastic supporters were soured when he gave the coup de grâce to the Vasco Gonçalves government, which had included "People's Power" in its program. When he appeared in the streets during the new government's test-run occupation of the CP-dominated radio stations in September, his former admirers hooted him. He seemed completely discredited.

The November 25 adventure

However, once it became clear that the new government remained weak vis-à-vis the mass movement, Carvalho started making overtures to the CP, which were quickly accepted. His fortunes as a demagogue revived. He became the hero of the counteroffensive by the CP and its ultraleft and centrist allies. At the height of his new popularity, however, this campaign led to the disaster of November 25. The ultraleft and centrist groups used as shock troops by the CP and the Gonçalves faction of the MFA began to call openly for an insurrection. That enabled the government to set the stage for a decisive counterblow.

Then the CP and the supporters of Carvalho and Gonçalves in the military decided to stage a show of force. Paratroopers occupied their bases in defiance of the general staff, and the military security forces seized the radio and TV stations. The government closed the trap and crushed the radicalized units in a matter of hours, with the majority of the population standing aside.

Once again, Carvalho had led his supporters into a trap. Although demagogues themselves often suffer a harsh fate when the bourgeoisie casts them aside, the military hierarchy preserved Carvalho for new adventures. He abandoned his supporters the minute it was clear that the government would not yield to pressure.

The ultraleftists, centrists, and eclectic Maoists that hitched their wagon to Carvalho's star suffered losses. But the biggest losers were the workers. The



EANES: 'law and order' candidate

government was able to take advantage of the confusion caused by this operation and the earlier maneuvers by the "people's general" to regain the initiative and throw the workers movement on the defensive.

It is not surprising that the ultraleftists and centrists have been unable to learn from so many deceptions by their military hero. They are profoundly opportunist in their thinking, and the fact that the CP and a wing of the MFA used them in a large-scale political operation has apparently turned their heads.

However, Carvalho's candidacy has had a wide impact.

In the relative decline that has affected the mass movement since the November 25 adventure, Carvalho is trying to present himself as the only candidate who stands for the frustrated aspirations of the masses. He is the only candidate denouncing the moves of the government to reconsolidate capitalism, the only one denouncing the procapitalist orientation of the SP leadership.

The intention of Carvalho's campaign in fact is to divert the indignation of the militant workers and youth and deepen their disorientation. In this, he continues to serve the bourgeoisie as well as he has always done. However, it is the void left by the ever more open and scandalous capitulation of the reformist parties that enables him to do this.

Eanes and the belly crawlers

The prostration of the reformist parties before Eanes, the candidate for military strongman, is a warning sign of worse to come.

The SP, of course, never broke from a line of subordinating the workers movement to the MFA. But it was forced for a time to take a tactically more independent stance and oppose attempts by the MFA to run the workers movement directly. As a result, for a period, it came under heavy pressure from the military tops. And now, the SP, which was the main target of the MFA's antiparty demagoguery last spring and summer, is calling for a "nonpolitical" president under whom it hopes to gain an advantageous position. On May 24, at an SP rally in Almada, an industrial suburb of Lisbon, Salgado Zenha, one of the party's national leaders, said:

"General Ramalho Eanes is not a Socialist, he is not a member of the Socialist party, neither publicly nor secretly, as was the case for several officers in the MFA who were CP members, although they said they weren't. He does not belong to any political party, nor do we want the future president to belong to any political party. What we want is for the future president of the republic to be the representative of the armed forces, to be supported by the armed forces, and to guarantee the application of the constitution drawn up by the representatives of the Portuguese people."

Since the bourgeois parties and the right wing of the SP are blocking behind Eanes and excluding the CP from any deals, the Stalinists have adopted a tactically more independent stance to hold their own ranks. To gain some leverage, they are running their own candidate for president. But this shift is a very limited one. The basic position of the CP remains class collaborationism through subordination to the military—it just wants to be included in the deal.

Thus, the CP candidate for president, Octávio Pato, explained in an interview in the May 25 *Jornal Novo*: "While we are not supporting the candidacy of Ramalho Eanes, for the reasons I already indicated, we are not hostile to it either. Nor do we present

our own candidacy in direct opposition to his or a plan for counterposing the workers and people's movement to the armed forces."

The largest group closely following Peking's "anti-social fascist" line announced on May 25 that it was backing Eanes because he was "a democratic, patriotic, antifascist, and anti-social fascist candidate." This was the Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado (MRPP—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian party), which has won considerable support among the radicalized youth and petty bourgeoisie because it seemed to be the group most intransigently opposing the MFA from the left. It was the main victim of military repression in the first year and a half of the regime. It claimed in fact that the MFA governments were still fascist and represented no qualitative change from the old regime.

Candidate withdrawn

The only candidate that stood for working-class unity and political independence from all factions of the bourgeoisie was the Trotskyist candi-



SP leader Mário Soares

date Arlete Vieira da Silva. Unfortunately, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) and the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party, a group that has declared its adherence to the Fourth International) felt compelled to withdraw their support for her candidacy on May 27. By that time, it was no longer possible to register another candidate.

Vieira da Silva had been on the PRT slate in Setúbal during the legislative elections in April. Since she had been a member of the underground Communist party for many years, the two Trotskyist organizations decided she would be an attractive candidate to point up the need for working-class unity against the bourgeoisie. However, they did not know her past well.

Thus, the Trotskyist groups were taken by surprise when some newspapers proved that Vieira da Silva had not spent three years in prison on political charges as she said. She had been jailed a few months for failing to pay for some household durables bought on credit. In view of this discrepancy and the questions it raised, they felt compelled to withdraw their support for her candidacy.

"The greatest loss in this," the PRT representatives told the press, "is that the workers are left without a way of fighting the policy of the generals and the capitalists."

World news notes

Moroz sent to mental hospital

Valentyn Moroz, Ukrainian historian and prominent opponent of the national oppression of the Ukrainian peoples in the USSR, has been transferred to a psychiatric hospital. This was made known by Moroz's wife, Raissa, at a press conference in Moscow May 18, according to a Reuters news release.

Moroz was sentenced in November 1970 to a fourteen-year term (six years in prison, three years in a labor camp, and five years internal exile) on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." The charges were based on his writings in defense of Ukrainian national rights and against Stalinist repression. The six-year term of imprisonment was to have ended June 1, and he was to have been transferred from Vladimir prison to a labor camp.

Moroz is now being held in the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry. The staff of this institution has become notorious for declaring political dissidents insane. According to Amnesty International, a commission of such "experts" will rule on Moroz's sanity in mid-June.

Raissa Moroz reported that "her husband last wrote her from Vladimir [prison] in March," according to Reuters. She went to Moscow May 17, from Ivano-Frankivsk in the Ukrainian SSR where she lives, to find out where Moroz was being held. She was told earlier in May that he was in an unspecified medical institution.

According to the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, Raissa Moroz has learned since May 18 that her husband was transferred to the Serbsky Institute on May 10.

Moroz's case became internationally known in 1974 when he conducted a five-month hunger strike against the harsh conditions of his confinement. For example, after he was attacked and stabbed by criminal cell mates, he was placed in solitary confinement for nearly two years. He went on the hunger strike to demand to be transferred to a labor camp. He ended his hunger strike in November 1974 and was transferred to an ordinary cell with another political prisoner.

Israel said to help South Africa

Marcia Freedman, an Independent Socialist member of the Israeli parliament, charged May 31 that hundreds of Israeli troops were attached to the South African army as advisers.

Defense Ministry spokesman Naphtali Lavie denied the charge, claiming, "There are no Israel defense forces personnel in South Africa." On the same day as his denial, however, the South African and Israeli regimes announced a program to strengthen scientific and technological ties between the two apartheid states.

Lavie also denied a report by United Press International the previous week that Israeli advisers were training the Ethiopian army in counterinsurgency techniques.

New police terror in Iran

At least twenty-one dissidents have been reported killed in more than half a dozen shooting incidents with the Iranian police. The clashes were said to have occurred in four different cities on May 16 and May 18.

In the series of shootouts on May 16, eleven "guerrillas" and four policemen were reported killed in Tehran. In the May 18 shootings, police said, another ten "guerrillas" and four passersby were killed when police units raided several "terrorist hideouts" in the provincial cities of Karaj, Qazvin, and Resht, all northwest of Tehran.

According to Western correspondents, the latest clashes were among the fiercest in many years. They brought to more than fifty the number of political dissidents executed or killed in gun battles with the police since the start of the year.

Despite the shah's savage campaign of repression, clashes with police have increased in recent months. An additional indicator of the extent of dissidence against the dictatorship is the continued imprisonment of an estimated 100,000 political prisoners.

Social Democrats postpone congress

Congresses of the Socialist International are supposed to be held every two years, but the last one was held in Vienna in 1972. The congress scheduled for Geneva in late July was recently postponed for "organizational and political reasons." November is the new target date.

The European Social Democratic parties are divided on the issue of whether to collaborate with the Communist parties, and with elections coming up in Italy, West Germany, and Sweden, they are not eager to discuss the question in public.

The state of comradely relations among the European Social Democratic parties has not deteriorated as far as they did during World War I, when Social Democrats in opposing countries were urged to kill each other. However, French Socialist leader François Mitterrand recently established a French Socialist committee "for the defense of civic and professional rights" in West Germany.

Mitterrand's move, in belated reaction to the West German regime's 1972 establishment of a screening process to exclude "extremists" from all government jobs, indicates that relations between the ruling German Social Democratic party and Mitterrand's group are deteriorating.

Labour gov't implements bosses' policy

British union leaders back new wage-cut plan

By Tony Hodges

LONDON—The General Council of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) has reaffirmed its support for the British Labour government's wage-control programme.

Brushing aside the interests of the ten million union members they are supposed to represent, the ossified bureaucrats of the General Council voted May 5, by 25 to 5, to endorse a new government pay plan. Prime Minister James Callaghan admitted the plan will bring a further substantial drop in British workers' living standards.

"Grin and bear it" was the prime minister's advice when he addressed a conference of the Union of Post Office Workers on May 23.

The new plan ("Stage Two" of the Labour government's wage controls) is set to take effect on August 1, when "Stage One" expires. Stage One began last August 1 and outlawed wage increases above £6 [£1=US\$1.77] a week.

Under Stage Two, scheduled to run for one year, workers earning under £50 a week will not be able to receive a wage increase above £2.50 a week. A 5% limit will also apply to those earning between £50 and £80 a week. Workers earning over £80 a week will face a wage increase ceiling of £4 a week.

Speaking in Parliament on May 3, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey predicted that the new pay plan would result in a decline of 1% to 2% in living standards over the next eighteen months. "I think there's got to be some further fall in the next 12 months," Healey said April 24.

Real wages

Real wages have already fallen as a result of Stage One. Over the twelve months to February, average earnings rose by 19% while the Retail Price Index rose by 23%. "The figures," the *Financial Times* commented April 22, "underline the short-term impact of the pay limit on living standards with the level of earnings continuing to lag

behind the rate of increase in retail prices."

The fall in workers' real earnings is only one side of the Labour government's assault on workers' interests. Between 5% and 6% of the work force were registered as unemployed in April. And, on February 19, a government "white paper" announced plans to chop projected 1978-79 government spending by £3 billion with devastating consequences for the National Health Service, public housing, and education.

These anti-working-class measures are designed to bail British capitalism out of its chronic economic crisis. In decline relative to its imperialist rivals for some decades, and in more recent times buffeted by the world capitalist slump, the British ruling class is plagued by falling profit rates and the loss of markets. Their predicament is highlighted by a depreciation in the value of sterling against other leading currencies of almost 40% since December 1971.

Wage controls

Successive British governments—both Tory and Labour—have sought to impose wage controls in order to boost profits and make British industry competitive in the world capitalist market. As Healey put it in an April 24 speech: "I'm asking for what's necessary to get the country standing on its feet again and respected in the world. I don't like the sort of things being said about Britain in the last few years. I think we've got to make Britain a world leader and I think we can."

Ironically, the present Labour government came to power in the wake of massive working-class opposition to wage controls enforced by the previous Tory government. In the early weeks of 1974, more than 200,000 coal miners staged a nationwide strike in defiance of the Tory pay laws, finally forcing Prime Minister Edward Heath to call a general election. The Tories went down to defeat. The ruling class then turned to the leaders of the Labour party, hoping that the incoming Labour government, trading off its close links



British Prime Minister Callaghan wants working people to 'grin and bear it.'

with the trade-union bureaucracy, would succeed where the Tories had failed.

The mechanism was to be the "social contract," a pact between the government and the TUC by which the union leaders pledged to tailor wage demands "voluntarily." But the policy failed to stick. Faced with an inflation rate which soared above 20% a year in 1975, workers fought for and won large wage increases in spite of the social contract.

So the Labour government, like its Tory predecessor, resorted to statutory controls. Unlike the Tories, however, the Labour ministers succeeded in bringing the trade unions behind the new compulsory policy. Now, with the union leaders even more committed to Stage Two than they were to the £6 limit, government ministers are already talking of a further round of pay controls to follow in 1977-78.

No Labour party members of Parliament have criticised the new pay plan. "Not even muted criticism was heard from the Labour left," the *Financial Times* reported on May 6. Eric Heffer, a long-standing leader of the *Tribune* wing of "left" Social Democratic Labour MPs, wrote in *Tribune* on May 14: "I am in favour of a voluntary wages policy. . . . Although I am unhappy about the way the TUC/Government agreement was reached, and its contents, it would be futile to oppose it as such."

Anthony Benn, the secretary of state for energy in Callaghan's cabinet and an idol of the Tribunites, went further. According to the May 8 issue of the *London Times*, "he underlined his unqualified support for the proposals" in a speech to a miners' conference on May 7.

Credit

Most ruling-class commentators have credited the Labour government with the achievement of a considerable success. They see it as something of a breakthrough in pacifying industrial relations.

David Wood, the political editor of the *Times*, Britain's leading capitalist daily, expressed this line of thinking in an opinion column directed at the Conservative party in the paper's May 10 issue. Advising support for the Callaghan pay package, he argued: ". . . there can be no partisan loss in Conservatives, or anybody else, saying that the formula gives promise of some valuable economic benefits. Above all, when was the last time that the TUC general council, with only five dissentients, virtually committed themselves

to fight alongside a Chancellor who proclaims that his policy means a fall of up to 2 per cent in the standard of living?"

As Wood saw it, "there has occurred an eruptive transformation which has shifted some of the most cardinal reference points of politics. Free collective bargaining, the hallowed principle of British trade unionism, has been voluntarily suspended again, and trade union leaders . . . have effectually become part of government and placed the national interest first."

This, Wood argued, "is a development in disciplined trade union power that every government since 1945 has at some time sought, and sought backstairs not always in vain. The important difference now, as a reward for ten years of educative effort by Mr Wilson and Mr Heath, is that the TUC's role as underwriter of government policy has begun to be institutionalised."

Left-wing alternative

This abject class collaborationism of the union bureaucracy underscores the need to build a new class-struggle leadership in the labour movement. One of the key planks of a fighting left-wing alternative would be the restoration of free collective bargaining, and to offset the effects of inflation, a sliding scale of wages.

How successful will the Labour bureaucracy be in policing Stage Two?

The General Council's endorsement of Stage Two is to go for ratification at a special congress of the TUC on June 16. There the assembled bureaucrats of the British labour movement are almost certain to give the policy resounding support.

To win workers' support for the policy, the union leaders have repeatedly used the bogey of a Tory resurgence if Stage Two is rejected.

The truth is that it is the present Labour government that has boosted unemployment, savaged the social services through public spending cuts, and engineered a cut in real living standards. It is these anti-working-class policies which are bringing disillusionment and demoralization, feeding a Tory revival that has already begun. The Conservative party made massive gains at Labour's expense in local government elections held in early May.

But it is also possible that the continued erosion of real wages will induce some sections of workers to fight back in self-defence. There are signs of a combative mood, for example, among the miners who drove a coach-and-horses through the Tories' pay laws in 1974. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) National Executive Committee divided 13 to 11 in favour of Stage Two. But on May 5 the annual conference of the South Wales area of the NUM voted unanimously to support a call for £100-a-week wage for coalface workers, a 33% increase over present rates. On May 18, a meeting of 150 NUM officials from union lodges throughout South Wales voted 138 to 12 to oppose the Stage Two pay controls and to press ahead with the £100 claim. The executive of the Scottish area of the NUM voted unanimously against Stage Two on May 18.

The Yorkshire area council of the NUM has also voiced strong opposition to the pay policy, voting 70 to 6 on May 21 to reject Stage Two. "It has been my feeling over the past few weeks," Yorkshire NUM leader Arthur Scargill commented, "that there has been a tremendous groundswell against the pay policy, without any campaign. I believe the men feel they were conned last time with the £6 and they are not going to be conned now."



British miners 'feel they were conned last time and are not going to be conned now.'

Why the Republicans call for more arms

By Dick Roberts

Last month in Albany Vice-president Rockefeller gave 119 previously uncommitted votes of New York Republican convention delegates to President Ford. The delegates meeting took place behind closed doors.

"Scores of county chairmen and major political figures were blocked from the meeting that was guarded by Secret Service agents, state troopers and local cops," according to New York *Daily News* reporter Thomas Poster.

It is a reminder, if there needs to be one, of the enormous power of the Rockefeller wing of the American ruling class. Only thirty-five New York delegates resisted the incentives offered by Rockefeller.

What is more interesting, is the emerging strong opposition among capitalists like Rockefeller, and Republican politicians, to the presidential candidacy of Ronald Reagan.

According to a May 23 *Wall Street Journal* editorial, "All but a dozen or so [congressional Republicans] are prayerfully backing President Ford. . . . Senator Goldwater himself has only formally disguised his opposition to Mr. Reagan, oddly enough

apparent for some time that the top U.S. military specialists have been considering a major escalation of the arms race by building a "new generation" of nuclear missiles. There are differences on one or another aspect of this project.

A glimpse of the argument—as much as comes out for public discussion—can be seen from recent issues of *Foreign Affairs*, the quarterly journal of the Council on Foreign Relations.

When the explosive powers of the vast array of U.S. and USSR missiles are lined up side by side, that of the Soviet Union is greater. According to Paul Nitze, in the January *Foreign Affairs*, "By 1977, after a Soviet-initiated counterforce strike against the United States to which the United States responded with a counterforce strike, the Soviet Union would have remaining forces sufficient to destroy Chinese and European NATO nuclear capability, attack U.S. population and conventional military targets, and still have a remaining force throw-weight in excess of that of the United States."

If you shudder at this type of thinking you will not be reassured to learn that Nitze was one of the men who ordered the only actual use of atomic weapons against living people in this world—the U.S. A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II. Nitze has also been listed as a contributor to the Carter campaign.

Nitze is answered by Jan Lodal in the April issue of *Foreign Affairs*. It is true the Soviets have more "throw-weight," Lodal argues, but U.S. weapons are more sophisticated and more accurate. The Soviets need the greater "throw-weight" because they will lose more missiles in the U.S. counterforce attack. "Had the roles of the two countries been switched," Lodal writes, "with the United States in the position in which the Soviets found themselves, we probably would have made similar decisions, with no necessary intention of acquiring a position of strategic superiority."

Lodal was director of NATO and the General Purpose Force Analysis Division of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1969-1970; director of program analysis, National Security Council, 1973-75; and is now executive vice-president of American Management Systems, Inc.

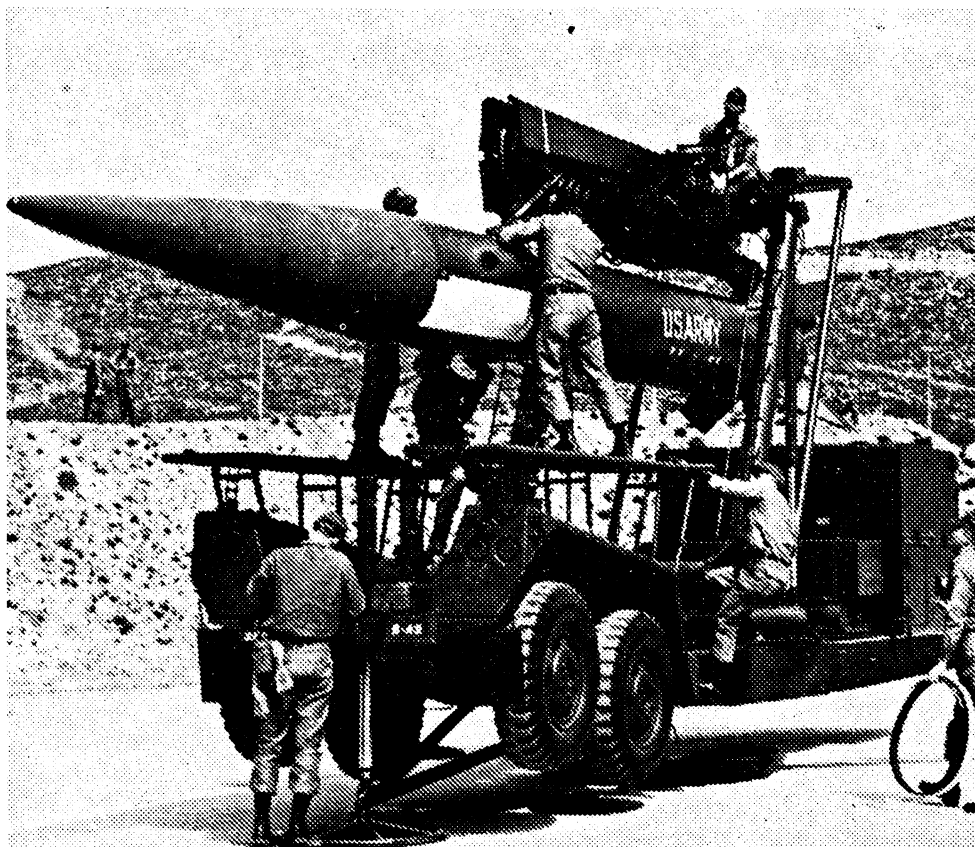
Both of these men know what they are talking about. They, not American voters, or congresspeople, or even the president, will make the decisions. The secret programs they devise will be rubber-stamped by the White House and funded by Congress.

Military spending

Nevertheless, the Republicans' hammering home on the arms issue is an extremely important part of the election campaign. It is part of the attempt of the rulers of this country to reverse the antimilitarist sentiments that spread to millions of working people as a result of the anti-Vietnam War movement. The rulers of this country want to initiate major increases in the war budget. They want to create the impression of public support for larger Pentagon appropriations through a propaganda blitz on the discredited "Communist menace" theme.

They know that it is necessary for the United States to maintain a global police force in order to protect world capitalism. Washington must maintain nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, but this is only one aspect. U.S.-financed and U.S.-manufactured armaments make up the bulk of NATO forces in Europe that guard European capitalism against the *European working class as well as the USSR*.

The same is true of the U.S.-backed military forces in Latin America,



NATO base in Greece. Both capitalist parties support multi-billion-dollar U.S. war budget.

Africa, and the Middle and Far East. From the CIA-aided military butchers in Chile, to the CIA-trained SAVAK police torturers in Iran, to the CIA-financed dictatorship in South Korea, site of huge U.S. bases, world capitalism is buttressed by U.S. military spending.

The Lockheed scandal has dramatically underlined that the U.S. war industry not only lines the pockets of American politicians but also plays a central role in financing the major political parties in such key imperialist nations as Italy and Japan.

This is a permanent feature of U.S. imperialism. And when the American people are on the defensive, as they now are in the wake of economic crisis and an across-the-board attack on democratic rights, from busing to equal rights for women, the capitalists will seize the opportunity also to step up war spending.

Reagan and Ford's propaganda plays a role. They help the day-in and day-out process of attempting to drum it into the heads of people that it is perfectly all right to spend hundreds of

billions of dollars on weapons when poverty and unemployment stalk the nation and the world and when the end result of U.S. military spending is concentration camps for Blacks in apartheid South Africa and the gunning down of Palestinian youths on the streets of Israel.

The role of the Democrats is every bit as important.

Arms budget

It is the Democratic party-controlled Congress that actually votes the war funds. From Washington, May 13, came the report that the Democrat-controlled House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee had made the smallest cut in the White House war budget since 1966. The subcommittee approved a \$105.9 billion war bill that is \$15.5 billion more than was voted by Congress last year. Congress usually stays close to the recommendation of this House subcommittee.

In the election campaign itself, the Democrats are avoiding the war-budget issue. This keeps the light off their votes in Congress to increase military spending. At the same time it gives the illusion, since the Republican candidates stress military spending, that a vote for the Democrats is a vote against the supposed Ford-Rockefeller military line.

A neat trick is thus played on voters. The Democrats silently up the military budget in office while inviting votes from those who oppose it.

A different version of this shell game was played in the 1960 presidential campaign. That time the Democrats made the supposed "missile gap" the issue. John F. Kennedy charged that General Eisenhower's administration had let the Soviet Union pull ahead of the United States. The more the Republicans denied it the more it seemed Kennedy had a point.

In office, however, Kennedy "discovered" there was no such gap and war spending continued as usual. And the strategic decisions were made by the experts.

As long as the capitalist parties continue to occupy the White House and to control Congress, whether Democrat or Republican, capitalist war policies will be carried out. Because of their complexity and the need for the utmost secrecy and centralization of decision making, the key decisions end up in the hands of such unelected atomaniacs and phantoms of doom as Nitze and Kissinger.



Rockefeller backs Ford

Socialists on war policies

The key program plank of the 1976 Socialist Workers campaign in relation to capitalist war policies states:

"Take the war-making power away from the White House and Congress.

"Let the people vote in a referendum before the country is dragged into any war. Let us have the right to say no to policies that can lead to nuclear holocaust and the end of humanity.

"We have the right to say no to government stockpiling and testing of nuclear weapons. . . . We have a right to veto the stationing of U.S. forces throughout the world and support of puppet military dictators."

For a copy of the full program, entitled "A Bill of Rights for Working People," write to the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

warning that the same people who are supporting Mr. Reagan are the same types who supported him in 1964."

Goldwater was overwhelmingly defeated. These politicians want to back a winner.

The opposition to Reagan casts light on the most hotly debated issue so far between Ford and Reagan: the U.S. race for military superiority over the Soviet Union. It shows that significant sections of the American ruling class, who are in a position to know the facts:

- Do not believe it is necessary to have Reagan in the White House in order to "catch up with the Russians."

- Do not believe that President Ford has sold out or will sell out U.S. imperialism's first place in world armaments to Moscow.

- Do not distrust the détente Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has engineered with the Soviet Union. In fact, the day after Rockefeller gave Ford the New York delegation, Ford promised to keep Kissinger on as secretary of state. Kissinger is well known as a Rockefeller protégé.

This is not to say that there are no disagreements in ruling-class circles about nuclear strategy. It has been

CRYER AND FORD

I first heard Gretchen Cryer and Nancy Ford sing on May 20. That was four days after I'd returned from Springfield, Illinois, where thousands of women and men had marched for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The exciting new possibilities that march represents for the women's movement were still running around my mind when I walked into the Cookery, a Greenwich Village supper club.

Gretchen Cryer sat down at the piano and Nancy Ford at the electric organ for their first song. Ford told the audience that they'd be singing "about our

Music

own experiences, the experiences of people we know, and some fantasies, too."

One of their first songs described a woman quitting her job as a bank teller. For most of her sixty-two years she'd worked two jobs: one "with pay" and the other raising a family. When her "fat-bellied boss" asked what she would do, she had the perfect answer, probably rehearsed in fantasies for years:

*I'm gonna plant some flowers
Watch 'em grow in the sunshine,
See the sun comin' up
Along Road 40 every morning
Gonna take the time to listen
To the sounds of this old house
And maybe even play the piano again.*

Ford said it was written about Cryer's mother. It could have been written about mine or a thousand others who silently share the dream of starting a new life. It seemed to give the audience a small sense of victory to hear the dream coming true.

As Cryer and Ford sang their way through many stories, you found pieces of your own life in them—hopes, predicaments, disappointments, and achievements. They put it all together with believable optimism.

The music, composed by Ford, is as fresh and alive as Cryer's lyrics. Their versatile voices toss the lead and high and low harmonies back and forth in a beautiful blend.

In between numbers their commentary was brief—just enough to give some hints about what lies behind the songs.

Their congenial professionalism bridged the gap between performers and audience, artists and enjoyers. As they sang, Cryer and Ford became Gretchen and Nancy—old friends you've never met.

I got a chance to find out more about them when they joined my friends and me at our table.

They told us that they began collaborating while at DePauw University in Indiana. Nancy was a music student and Gretchen was studying English literature.

In the mid-sixties they wrote a musical play that was produced Off Broadway. *Now is the Time for All Good Men* was about a conscientious objector who was run out of his small Indiana hometown.

In 1970, a musical comedy, *The Last Sweet Days of Isaac*, also with script and score by Cryer and Ford, played Off Broadway.

The second play was quite successful. But some of those years in the late sixties and early seventies were kind of lean. Nancy had to find temporary office work as a "Kelly Girl" and played the piano in an Off-Broadway hit, *The Fantasticks*. Meanwhile, Gretchen was trying to keep herself and her daughter and son going. She also found secretarial work while looking for singing jobs.

Two years ago they decided to strike out on their own. Last year, they cut their first album with RCA, *Cryer and Ford*.

One of my favorite tracks is "Long Time Gone." A divorced woman is telling her former husband of changes she's gone through—some problems, challenges, and a new sense of herself:

*I've learned to live without you
The kids are growing fine
And oh, I like to breathe the air*



GRETCHEN CRYER AND NANCY FORD

*When all of it is mine
It's been a long time, long time
You've been a long time gone.*

Women's search to define themselves outside of traditional labels and roles runs through many of their songs.

For instance, in another song a woman is trying to convince her lover that their relationship can be good only if he accepts her as an independent human being, a "Whole Woman."

Also on the album is a humorous song about an affair with "a much younger man." Another favorite, "Blackberry Wine" (words and music by Cryer), sympathetically pokes fun at the romantic notion that "true love" comes but once.

The sophisticated techniques of the recording studio infuse new musical dimensions into Cryer and Ford's material. RCA has added backup music. Gretchen and Nancy rerecord their voices to get extra harmony.

It's a very good album. Yet it only begins to capture the unique verve of their live performance.

As we sat talking, Gretchen and Nancy related some of the fun, bewilderment, and trials of getting started as performers. They chuckled, recalling advice from a former manager who urged them to keep their ages a secret. In fact, knowing that they're both forty, and seeing what twenty-one years of friendship and collaboration is producing, is an inspiration!

Neither one of them has ever been an activist in the women's liberation movement, but both of them told me that it has had an important impact on them. You know this from their songs.

One in particular, "Clinging Vine," will easily rival Helen Reddy's "I Am Woman" as the best popular feminist song if AM radio just gives it a chance.

This song, Nancy said, was inspired by some advice from her mother. After Nancy's first marriage broke up, her mother urged her to find a nice man and cling to him like a "vine to a tree."

Instead of heeding the advice, Nancy and Gretchen came up with a song about a free-spirited young girl who wants to be strong and independent like Wonder Woman. However, she finally gives in to her mother's appeals to transform herself into a frail stereotyped woman who needs a man to give her life *real* meaning. She becomes like a "clinging vine." But, her "tree," her lover, is smothering from her dependency and leaves her. It's with great relief that our heroine sings:

*Hello Wonder Woman
Goodbye clinging vine
I'm coming, Wonder Woman
To repossess what's mine . . .
I was a clinging vine
Until I lost my tree
Now I'm leaning on the wind
And hanging free.*

This song really knocked out the audience at the Cookery. On the applause meter, it hit the high mark of the evening. Women flashed smiles and nods from table to table. Men also shared the enthusiasm. While the song is written from a woman's point of view, it intimates a touch of sympathy for the stifling effects that encrusted sex roles have on men too.

I tested my reading of the audience's response on a group at the next table.

One of the young women said, "They just make me beam!" Another said, "Both of them have clear, well-trained voices." She was in a position to know—she was an opera student. And the young man with them said, "Their songs somehow put me in mind of my Vietnam protest days. There's something in them like protest songs—sometimes subtle, sometimes not so subtle."

I also asked our waitress, a tough, friendly woman, maybe fiftyish, what she thought. "Oh, they're good, real good," she said.

This shared enthusiasm gave me a sense of triumph, and I knew why.

Gretchen Cryer and Nancy Ford are women singing about women. Their songs gently remind me of something I learned in the women's movement: Despite the many different circumstances women face and experiences we each have, there is a common thread running through much of our lives.

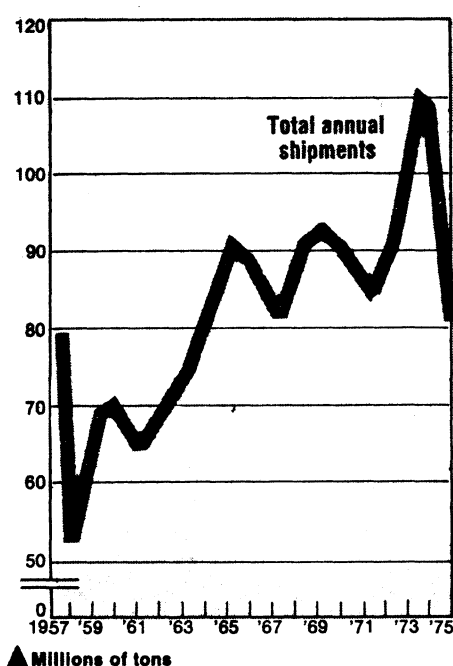
This is inevitable in a world that tries to cast women into a common mold. And in times like these that mold also forges a discontentment that begins to crack its facade and helps to inspire many forms of rebellion—including a march down a street in Springfield, Illinois, demanding equal rights for women.

I returned to the Cookery again on the final night of their engagement. As I listened, I thought about something another woman had said. "You know," she'd told me, "you just really want Cryer and Ford to succeed." And she's right, you really do. Not only do they deserve it, but so do we.

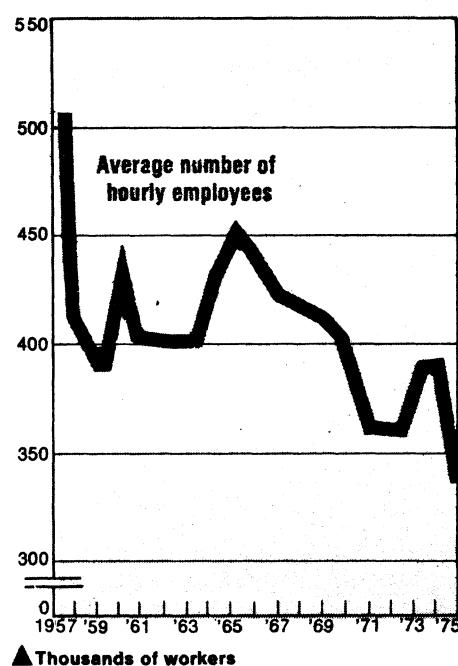
—Ginny Hildebrand

ISSUES IN STEEL

Shipping more steel . . .



. . . with fewer workers



Business Week

Steel industry's profit drive has wiped out thousands of jobs, while union President I.W. Abel hails 'spirit of cooperation' between labor and capital.

By Andy Rose

(Last of a series)

Economic recovery has been under way for more than a year, but the upturn has little meaning for thousands of jobless steelworkers.

John Chico, newly elected president of Local 65 at U.S. Steel's South Works in South Chicago, reported this spring that 2,500 of the local's 9,000 members were still laid off. Another 3,000 were working four days a week or less.

It's a far cry from what I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers, promised when he signed the no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" with the basic steel corporations in 1973.

Abel pinned the blame for recurrent unemployment on the steel companies' stockpiling in anticipation of strikes. He prophesied a glorious new era of job security based on the "spirit of cooperation" between labor and capital embodied in the no-strike pledge.

When the 1974 steel contract was signed under the provisions of the ENA, Abel assured steelworkers they never had it so good: "You are not today facing or experiencing layoffs, downgrading or the closing of your department or plant because steel was stockpiled in anticipation of a strike. On the contrary, the Steel Industry is operating at [full] capacity and expects to continue at this level for the foreseeable future."

A few months later the depression struck. The "spirit of cooperation" did not deter the corporations from safeguarding profits by hurling thousands of steelworkers out of their jobs.

The new gimmick

Nowadays Abel doesn't say much about how the ENA has saved jobs. "Labor-management cooperation" has found a new gimmick: seeking restrictions on foreign steel imports to protect "our industries" and "our national economy."

When a government trade commission approved a proposal for such quotas last January, Abel hailed the

decision as "a splendid example of what can be done when unions and management jointly tackle a mutual problem."

On the shop floor, in the steel mills, in the blast furnaces and coke ovens across the country, it's a different story. The steel bosses are out to wring the greatest profit from each hour's labor. They demand unquestioning obedience and uncomplaining toil under dangerous conditions.

They scoff at the workers' grievances, pointing to the lines of unemployed waiting to take the place of anyone who "makes trouble."

Abel blames the problems of steelworkers on the inconvenience caused for the companies by strikes.

He blames them on imports—in other words, on foreign steelworkers.

He blames everything except the real cause: the profit drive of the capitalist owners of the steel industry.

100,000 jobs vanished

The problem of unemployment is a prime example. The May 24 issue of *Business Week* reports a "dramatic and permanent reduction in the steel work force" and explains what is behind it.

It is not imports.

It is not strikes.

It is not "illegal aliens."

"More than 100,000 steelworkers' jobs have vanished over the last two decades," *Business Week* says, "as steelmakers introduced faster, more efficient methods of producing steel. This trend will continue."

Business Week further observes: "While this has meant a sizable loss of membership for the USW, the union is by no means fighting the trend. . . . Since 1971, in fact, the union has been cooperating in boosting productivity through joint committees of union and management."

What's good for the companies is good for the workers. That pretty well sums up the philosophy of I.W. Abel and of the entire AFL-CIO officialdom. It is not a new philosophy. As we

have seen in this series of articles, it was the outlook of the old-line AFL bureaucrats who stood in the way of organizing the mass-production industries in the 1930s.

It was the outlook of the top CIO leaders as well, even though they were swept along for a time by the mass upsurge of workers that laid siege to the open shops, defeated the violent resistance of the industrialists, and laid the organizational foundation for the present power of American labor.

When the time was deemed ripe, the CIO bureaucrats—with help from the employers and government witch-hunters—moved to suppress the militancy of the ranks. As the personal fortunes of the officials prospered, they developed a calm, statesmanlike view of the workers' plight.

"Collective bargaining has become less and less a contest and more a collaboration." That's what steelworkers President Philip Murray was saying by 1948.

Alliance with capitalist politicians rather than reliance on the independent action of the workers was key to the new "collaboration." The workers' demands were entrusted to secret negotiations, fact-finding boards, mediators, and arbitrators.

For their part, the Democratic and Republican politicians have woven a web of legal restrictions to curtail labor's rights—from the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 to Nixon's wage controls in 1971 to Senate Bill 1 today.

"Collaboration" was carried to new extremes after David McDonald succeeded Murray as USWA president in 1952. McDonald announced that "mutual trusteeship" between the steel industry and the union has ushered in "people's capitalism."

Under "mutual trusteeship," hard-won union gains were surrendered without a fight. Wages stagnated. The cost-of-living escalator was given up.

Abel's policy

Abel, a longtime officeholder in the USWA bureaucracy, challenged McDonald for the union presidency in the 1965 election. It was more a palace revolt than a rank-and-file movement.

Abel pledged to restore membership control over union policy and reverse the trend of union losses. But as the no-strike pact shows, Abel has followed unswervingly in the class-collaborationist footsteps of Murray and McDonald.

Class collaboration means limiting wage demands to what the corporations will find "reasonable."

It means tacitly joining with the employers to restrict women and Blacks to lower-paying positions.

It means not pushing too hard on health and safety issues, for fear that corporate profits will be endangered.

It means supporting Democrats and Republicans, the representatives of the employing class, for public office.

It means supporting their foreign policy: wars like Vietnam, and the squandering of billions of dollars on armaments.

Even when the union leadership adopts a good stand on important social issues—in support of busing and the Equal Rights Amendment, for example—little is done to mobilize the power of the union to struggle for these stands.

Whatever the weaknesses of the class-collaboration policy in the past, today it threatens disaster.

Capitalism on a world scale has entered a new period of economic crisis and stagnation. The capitalists in every country, seeking an edge over their competitors, aim to drive down real wages, weaken or destroy the unions, and reduce social welfare spending.

Workers throughout the country are looking for answers to this assault. Discontent is growing with the do-nothing policies of the union officialdom.

The movement developing behind Ed Sadlowski, insurgent leader in the Chicago-Gary steel district, is one

expression of this new mood.

When Sadlowski blasts "country club unionism" and leaders who "won't go to bat for the members," he strikes a responsive chord among steelworkers—and many others as well.

Union democracy is the rallying cry of this movement—the fight to "give our union back to the membership."

Union democracy means more than just the right to talk. It must also mean the right of the workers to act in defense of their class interests.

The labor bureaucrats stifle democracy in order to implement their policy of class collaboration. A policy of class struggle—of defending the needs of the workers regardless of the consequences for profits or the profit system—goes hand in hand with the fight for union democracy.

A class-struggle policy means rejection of all restrictions on the union power—abolition of the ENA and all other no-strike clauses.

It means defending jobs through action for a shorter workweek with no loss in weekly pay.

It means action for useful public works programs to put all the unemployed back to work.

It means protecting wages through unlimited cost-of-living escalators based on the real rise in prices as determined by the unions, not rigged government statistics.

It means throwing the power of the union into defense of busing and the Equal Rights Amendment.

It means strong affirmative-action programs to promote real equality on the job, and amending seniority systems that are used to carry out discriminatory layoffs.

It means unyielding defense of job safety and the environment.

The road forward

These demands are not limited to a single union or even to the organized sector of the working class. They are class demands, requiring social change. They will not be easily won from the employing class, and the political agents of the employers in the Democratic and Republican parties won't help.

A giant step forward will be made when the working class develops class-conscious leaders who understand the political needs of the struggle and chart a course of independent political action on every level. This will include uniting workers and their allies in their own independent labor party solidly based on the union movement.

As the struggle against the steel profiteers and their union collaborators unfolds, steelworkers will hammer out a program based on their own experiences and needs. But the entire history of the steelworkers union and the CIO makes one fact abundantly clear: the only road forward is rejection of class collaboration in all its forms.

A class-struggle policy can transform the unions. It can initiate a broad social movement of the working class—the movement that is destined to replace the present system of exploitation and oppression with a new society of freedom, equality, and abundance for all.

Further reading on—

Labor history and its lessons for today

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp., paper \$3.95

Books by Farrell Dobbs:
Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., paper \$2.45

Teamster Power 255 pp., paper \$2.95

Teamster Politics 256 pp., paper \$2.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Public workers strike in Alameda County

By James Roman

OAKLAND, Calif., June 15—More than 4,000 Alameda County workers walked off the job here in the San Francisco Bay Area June 2, beginning the second major public employee strike in this area in less than two months.

The clerical, hospital, and social workers in Locals 616, 250, and 535 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) want an average wage increase of approximately 7 percent, roughly equivalent to that approved by county supervisors for 1,240 management personnel.

The supervisors have offered only a paltry 3.2 percent raise on the average, with more than 850 workers to receive no increase at all.

At least eighty-three of a possible ninety-five county facilities are being picketed, including court buildings, hospitals, and welfare offices. As the strike concludes its second week, hopes for a quick settlement have grown dim.

Unlike the recent San Francisco city workers' strike, the present strike is receiving solid support from Local 70 of the Teamsters union. Food deliveries and garbage pickups at county facilities have ground to a halt. Teamsters and laborers have also refused to cross picket lines at county construction sites. Maintenance workers have refused to repair computers in county data-processing centers.

The strike is also receiving active support from the Public Defenders Association and the County Hospital Physicians' Association. The physicians pledged 5 percent of their salaries to the striking union's defense fund.

The Alameda County Building and Construction Trades Council has also voted to support the strike. A sister union, SEIU Local 390, representing Oakland city workers, voted to hit the bricks June 10 in response to that city's meager 2 percent wage offer.

Taking a lesson from the defeat of the San Francisco strike, the Alameda County workers have taken special measures to mobilize community support. They have set up telephone lines for those in need of emergency assistance and medical care; assisted in the renovation of child-care centers; provided services for senior citizens; and have not picketed county methadone clinics. So far they have also avoided picketing the County Sports Arena and the airport.

The Alameda County supervisors began early in their negotiations with the workers to claim a budget crisis. They blamed rising property taxes on county workers.

The workers responded with a mass leafleting campaign explaining that

services and jobs have steadily been cut back, while property tax assessments for large businesses have gone down.

The supervisors also threatened to revoke the formula under which 400 county construction-craft workers are guaranteed wage parity with craft workers in private industry. This pressured Local 3 of the Operating Engineers union to accept a mere 1.5 percent raise and a no-strike provision requiring them to cross the picket lines of other county workers.

As a result, increasing numbers of craft workers have scabbed on the county workers' strike.

The supervisors also granted 450 members of the Deputy Sheriffs Association a full 7 percent raise and fringe benefits. The sheriffs have helped the supervisors intimidate and harass strikers, sometimes outnumbering picketers by more than two to one.

The supervisors have threatened to hire strikebreakers; threatened strikers with possible job loss; arrested picketers for petty violations; and warned of possible court injunctions against union leaders.

County officials have also threatened to hold back part of the final paychecks due to 600 strikers as the result of a bookkeeping technicality. The union's initial efforts to obtain a temporary restraining order to stop this was at first denied, but later allowed after the union agreed to post a \$50,000 bond.

The attitude of the county court was perhaps best expressed by Judge Parker, who proclaimed, "Here it is payday. The people are without credit. There are rent and food installments due. They are going to have a problem in two weeks. But that is their problem."

The strikers' response to this harassment was to tighten picketing at the county fairgrounds on an around-the-clock basis. The Alameda County Fair is scheduled to open June 27. Picketing has stopped all construction and phone installation at the fairgrounds and may result in the cancellation of the fair this year.

The supervisors' lack of a serious attitude toward resuming negotiations was revealed when they recently offered to resume bargaining if the union would negotiate in the supervisors' chambers—an offer that in effect meant that the union negotiating team would have to cross its own picket lines.

The strikers' response to this insult was to stage a sit-in at the private law offices of the supervisors' chairman. The sit-in resulted in the arrests of several members of the union negotiating team and seventeen other strike leaders.

...Syrian invasion

Continued from page 3

other Arab regimes, however, at bottom are only weakening the defense of the Arab revolution as a whole against Zionist and imperialist attacks.

By intervening in Lebanon against the Palestinian and Lebanese masses, Assad has already dealt a blow to the Arab cause. Assad is not only undercutting the struggle of the oppressed Palestinian people for their rights, but also the possibility of Syria winning back the Golan Heights from Israeli occupation. A defeat of the Palestinian liberation movement in Lebanon will strengthen Israel's grip on all the occupied Arab land it holds.

Moreover, should the shaky ceasefire now under way explode in a new outbreak of fighting deemed contrary to overall U.S. objectives, Washington has, according to the June 10 *New*

York Times, ordered "the aircraft carrier America and two escort frigates into the eastern Mediterranean to be available for evacuation and to show American interest."

Bernard Gwertzman reported the following day that "the United States wants to keep the Arabs aware of the possibility that if fighting flares up again, there is always the risk that either Israel or other Arab states might become involved."

As this barely concealed threat indicates, the situation in the Middle East remains explosive. The interests of the Lebanese and Palestinian people demand that Syria get out of Lebanon now, that the other Arab regimes stay out, and that any moves by Tel Aviv, Washington, or other imperialist powers to capitalize on the situation be opposed.

Calendar

BALTIMORE

FBI CRIMES AGAINST THE BLACK MOVEMENT, SOCIALISTS, AND DISSENTERS. Speaker: Fred Halstead, cochairperson, 1976 Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee. Fri., June 25, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

CHICAGO

1976 TO 1976: REFORM AND REVOLUTION IN AMERICAN HISTORY. Speaker: George Novack, Marxist philosopher and author. Also Suzanne Haig, SWP candidate for governor; Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, First C.D. Sat., June 26, 7:30 p.m. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams (near LaSalle). Donation: \$2. Ausp: 1976 Socialist Workers Illinois Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

CINCINNATI

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL: Building the revolutionary party. Speaker: Tom Kincaid, SWP, on *The origins of American Trotskyism—revolutionary continuity and political principle.* Mon., June 21, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Cincinnati Student Center, Room

424. Donation: \$5 for series; 75¢ per session. Ausp: YSA, SWP. For more information call (513) 321-7445.

NEW YORK CITY

RALLY TO FREE SOVIET DISSIDENT MUSTAFA DZHEMILEV. Speakers: Egbal Ahmad, Harrisburg Seven; Reza Baraheni, former Iranian political prisoner; Pavel Litvinov, former Soviet dissident; Martin Sostre, former American political prisoner; Rose Styron, Amnesty International board member; a Crimean Tatar representative. Thurs., June 24, 7 p.m. NYU Catholic Center, 58 Washington Square South. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee. For more information call (212) 533-9238.

NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL: The building of American Trotskyism. Thurs., June 24, 7:30 p.m. 221 E. Second St. (between Aves. B & C). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE/CHELSEA

BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES. A forum on the case for Puerto Rican independence. Speakers: Pedro Reyes, president of Lower East Side Puerto Rican Socialist party; Nelson Gonzales, SWP; others. Wed., June 30, 8 p.m. Church of the Nativity, 44 Second Ave. (between Second and Third Sts.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Lower East Side and Chelsea Militant Bookstores. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

...voters

Continued from page 5

conservative, but because they have learned through harsh experience that the Democrats and Republicans offer no solutions.

Candidates come and go, but the twists and turns in Washington's policies simply have nothing to do with whether a Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, or Reagan currently happens to occupy the Oval Office.

Voters looking for an alternative at the polls this spring were simply out of luck. But next November there will be an alternative.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers party ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are in the midst of a nationwide petitioning drive to place their candidates on the ballot in thirty states and the District of Columbia.

Camejo and Reid are the only candidates running this year who speak for the interests of working people, the oppressed minorities, and women. Vote for Camejo and Reid next November. And help put the socialist alternative on the ballot this summer by contacting the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters nearest you listed in the Socialist Directory on page 27.

...Chicago

Continued from back page

conduct, protesting, for example, the arrest—following the June 7 attacks—of Willie Curtis, a Black man who is director of the West Englewood Community Organization. Curtis was coming to the aid of a Black woman being stoned by whites.

On June 9 and 10, police stopped open-housing marches headed for the Marquette Park neighborhood. The marches had been called by a Black organization, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Movement.

On June 10, forty riot-helmeted cops stopped the marchers and arrested five, including Rev. C.H. Turner, head of the King Movement.

To give the appearance of doing something about the racist violence and to take the heat off city hall and police headquarters, Mayor Richard Daley announced he was going to "close down" the Nazi headquarters near Marquette Park.

Daley got a temporary restraining order in the circuit court here preventing Nazi leader Frank Collin from "participating in or urging the violation of the rights of blacks, where such action is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action and is likely to incite or produce such action."

Collin called the order a "victory" for

the Nazis and said they would continue to organize the "white masses" in the area. "We can stay within the law, but our efforts will not be slackened," he said.

Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers party's First District congressional candidate, blasted this double standard of Chicago justice that jails Black leaders while slapping the wrists of their racist attackers. In a June 7 statement, Pulley underscored that "Mayor Daley has encouraged this kind of violence by supporting and fighting to maintain racially segregated schools and housing in Chicago. He has set the 'leadership' example by having clearly demonstrated his willingness to lose millions of state and federal dollars in fighting against court orders to desegregate schools and housing and end racist city hiring practices.

"The Marquette Park incident," Pulley continued, "illustrates the continuing and growing development of a large anti-Black movement that has functioned without one word of condemnation by the Democratic and Republican politicians of this city.

"Let no one be fooled," he concluded. "We either put a stop to these racist attacks now, or watch them continue and escalate. We Blacks must organize ourselves, and everyone who supports our rights, into a mass movement to stand up and speak out against these attacks. A visible, massive demonstration at city hall is urgently needed to put pressure on the city to arrest and prosecute the criminals."

Jesse Jackson statement

[The following are remarks made by Operation PUSH leader Rev. Jesse Jackson at the group's June 12 meeting.]

They called me from downtown wanting to know whether Reverend Turner is legitimate. They said, "Turner is crazy with his marches and is causing the violence in Marquette Park. Will you tell Turner to call off his marching?"

No! Turner ain't causing the violence. He's only marching. He hasn't broken any laws. Black people have a right to march there. We have a right to live there. And we have a right to march and live there right now.

The police ought to be protecting, not arresting Turner. The marchers are not responsible for the violence. . . .

I'll tell you who is responsible for the racist violence: Mayor Daley, Mayor Daley, Mayor Daley. He has encouraged it all.

California Rallies to put the socialist alternative on the ballot

Hear Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president; Larry Seigle, managing editor of the *Militant*; and Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California.

San Francisco

FRIDAY, JUNE 25. First Unitarian Church, Franklin and Geary. Reception 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. Donation: \$1. For more information call (415) 431-8918.

Los Angeles

SATURDAY, JUNE 26. Los Angeles Convention Center, Room 214-BC, 1201 S. Figueroa St. (at Pico). Refreshments 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. Donation: \$2. For more information call (213) 735-4235.

Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Chairperson, Bruce Marcus; treasurer, Sharon Crawford.

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Socialist Directory

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CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

Long Beach: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11, Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8197.

Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210.

Pasadena: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 226 N. El Molino, Pasadena, Calif. 91106. Tel: (213) 793-3468.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Fernando Valley: SWP, P.O. Box 4456, Panorama City, Calif. 91412. Tel: (213) 894-2081.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Libreria Socialista, 3284 23rd St. San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

San Jose: SWP, YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

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THE MILITANT

FREE TYLER ACTIONS SET FOR JULY 10



By Baxter Smith

A seventeen-year-old Black Louisianan will legally come of age July 10, but he will not register to vote, make a contract on his own, consume a drink, or partake of other freedoms the system allows eighteen-year-olds to enjoy. Gary Tyler, one of the youngest of his kind in the United States, will instead remain a prisoner on death row.

"We're calling for demonstrations, pickets, and so forth in different cities when Gary turns eighteen July 10," said Virginia Collins of the Gary Tyler Defense Committee in New Orleans. The group views actions on that date as preparatory for a major demonstration in New Orleans on July 24.

"We want a coming-out of the people," said Collins.

Tyler was convicted last November on a trumped-up murder charge stemming from the October 1974 shooting death of a white high school student. Recently abused by guards at the state penitentiary in Angola, Louisiana, he was ordered placed in an isolation cell for twenty days.

The case against Tyler has been a flimsy one from the start, and currently an appeal is before the Louisiana Supreme Court asking that a new trial be

set.

The state's chief witness, a sixteen-year-old who originally said she saw Tyler fire a gun, has now recanted. She said officials had threatened to accuse her of the shooting unless she testified to help frame Tyler.

"Gary Tyler is a victim of circumstances," said Maceo Dixon, a national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. His group has asked its supporters to turn out for picket lines and other protests on Tyler's birthday.

"We think it is extremely important to rally people around his case not only from the point of view that he is on death row, but because he was fighting for school desegregation, which is one of the things NSCAR has been fighting for."

The shooting incident occurred outside recently desegregated Destrehan High School near New Orleans. There were confrontations between white and Black students, and Tyler was accused of shooting the white student from a bus and then of stuffing the murder weapon into a seat.

But according to Black students, the shooting was done by a white man firing from a nearby porch after the bus was stoned by white students.

Anti-Black rampage hits Chicago

By Cecil Lamont and Joel Britton

CHICAGO—An alarming increase in white racist attacks on Blacks has led to demands by Black leaders here for greater police protection.

The most publicized of the recent attacks on Blacks have come on Chicago's Southwest Side, in the Chicago Lawn-Marquette Park area.

Marquette Park, an all-white section of Chicago, has been the scene of racist attacks on Blacks for more than a year.

A bloody Sunday

Following a June 6 "white power" rally organized by Nazi leader Frank Collin in anticipation of an open-housing march called by Blacks in Marquette Park, hundreds of racist whites went on a rock- and bottle-throwing, fist-swinging, search-and-destroy mission against Blacks who happened to be driving in the area.

James Holdman, an off-duty Black deputy sheriff, and his twelve-year-old son were returning home from church when their car was attacked at a traffic signal.

The doors were locked, but that did not deter the racists, who began to beat in the windows with clubs and bricks. Only when Holdman drew his service revolver and fired warning shots—accidentally wounding himself—did police manage to clear away the attackers.

Nearly a dozen Blacks and Latinos, some injured while passing by on city buses, were treated at nearby hospitals.

All but one of the twenty-nine whites charged with offenses were cited for only the mildest misdemeanors, such as disorderly conduct.

Another victim of the anti-Black terror being whipped up in Marquette Park is Robert Ellington. On May 15, Ellington, thirty-five, was stabbed as many as twenty-eight times by three white men.

Ellington was sitting in his car near Holy Cross Hospital when he was dragged out of his car and told, "Niggers aren't supposed to be here. We'll show you niggers not to come over here no more."

Police officials described the motive for this attack as "unknown," despite the clearly racist intent of Ellington's attackers. No one has been arrested for this crime.

Violence spreads

The failure of police to crack down on the bigots who have attacked the rights of Blacks to demonstrate or travel through Marquette Park has given the green light to racist violence throughout the city.

"Beach thugs terrorize blacks" was the headline on *Sun-Times* columnist Bob Greene's June 10 account of such a recent incident.

Two Black men, James Singleton,

twenty-seven, and his companion, Ronald Brown, twenty-nine, were walking their bikes along a crowded path between Foster Avenue Beach and Ardmore Beach.

"A white guy yelled, 'Kill the black-ass niggers,'" Singleton told Greene.

"There were about 15 of them. They were beating us, kicking us, cutting us—everything. They must have been using the broken bottle, because I have a hole the size of a half dollar in my back. . . . They started yelling, 'Drown the niggers, throw the black niggers in the water and drown their asses.'"

Greene reports other eyewitness accounts of Blacks being beaten in the same area. "All of these attacks,"

writes Greene, "came with no provocation, other than the appearance of black faces at a predominantly white area of lakefront."

A police official blames "a white North Side gang," according to Greene. As for police protection for Blacks, "We can't be everywhere," says the head cop in that district.

Racist cops

While the cops have taken no meaningful action to put a stop to these attacks on Blacks, they have bared the racist fangs of Chicago "justice" against leaders of the Black community here.

Black leaders have scored this police

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Robert Ellington, hospitalized after attack by bigots. Chicago neighborhood where attack occurred is plastered with racist warnings to Blacks

